

# WORLD YOUTH REVIEW

Monthly Supplement to "World News and Views"

Vol. I. No. 3

MARCH, 1939

TWOPENCE

## CONTENTS

<b>Youth and Politics</b>	
L. Calmat: The Cause of Spain is the Cause of Youth .. . . .	46
J. Gordon: Chinese Resistance to the Japanese Aggression Develops ..	47
The Youth Pilgrimage to London ..	48
Austria's Youth Under Alien Fascist Rule .. . . .	49
H. Robinson: Youth and Victory of Chilean People's Front .. . .	49
J. G.: Youth in the Colonial Countries .. . . .	50
<b>In the Country of Socialism</b>	
Twenty-one Years of the Red Workers' and Peasants' Army ..	52
J. Stalin: The Three Peculiarities of the Red Army .. . .	53
Convocation of the XVIIIth Congress of the C.P.S.U. ..	54
Population Census in the Soviet Union .. . .	55
P. Steiner: Work is a Matter of Honour .. . .	55
<b>From the Two Hemispheres</b>	
P. Bosson: The Young Socialist Guard Congress Calls the Youth to Action .. . .	56
O. Maier: After the Congress of the Pax Romana .. . .	57
E. Duguet: The Strange Theories of the "Cri des Jeunes" .. .	58
A. K.: The National Parliament of Youth .. . .	59
Mexican Youth Unification Congress Called .. . .	59
<b>Youth and Economic Life</b>	
Unemployed Youth in the United States .. . .	60
H. J. A.: Dutch Federation of Youth in the Struggle for Youth Demands ..	60
C. Thomson: An Inquiry Into Youth Conditions .. . .	60
<b>Fascism and Youth</b>	
P. Toennig: Growing Criminity of German Youth .. . .	61
<b>Learn and Comprehend</b>	
J. Alpari: A Guide to the Study of Marx's "Capital" .. .	62
D. Z. Manuilsky: Lenin and the International Labour Movement ..	65
J. Bruhaut: A History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union ..	66
<b>Sports Movement</b>	
A. Delaune: The 1940 Olympic Games .. . .	67
C. Kramer: Hitler's Latest Sports Decree .. . .	68

## Long Live Republican Spain!

FRANCO'S troops now occupy the frontier territory separating Spanish Catalonia from French Catalonia. Behind them are massed the motorised Italian armies, which represent a terrible menace to France's third frontier.

Free Catalonia has been invaded in spite of the self-sacrificing struggle of the troops of Generals Modesta and Lister, who had nothing but their bare breasts to oppose to the countless tons of war material sent by Hitler and Mussolini, in spite of the heroism of the people of Catalonia and its proud youth, betrayed by the Governments of France and Britain.

But the hyenas and jackals who, in the democratic countries, wish to see the complete success of the fascist plans, are mistaken if they regard their dreams as realities. Republican Spain is determined not to sell itself, and the repeated declarations of Dr. Negrín and General Miaja that Republican Spain will resist until victory is attained, reflect the will of the whole people. The eight million free Spaniards who are defending a territory larger than Portugal are determined to fight to the last breath in order to drive the Italian and German invaders from Spain.

In this titanic struggle it is necessary that the nations shall display more solidarity than ever to Spain, which is defending the liberty and peace of the world. The heroism and the self-sacrifice of the young men and women of Spain must call forth, in response, increased efforts on the part of the youth of the whole world to come to their aid.

First of all it is necessary to provide shelter and accommodation for the tens of thousands of refugees—women, old people, and children—whose homes have been ruthlessly destroyed by the fascist barbarians. Following the example of the youth of France, who, on Spain Day, February 5, collected over a million francs in cash, clothing and food, it is necessary to collect without delay and with greater energy than ever, in order that the women and children shall realise that the solidarity of the peoples is not an empty word, and that the heroic soldiers of the Republic shall be able to devote their undivided energy and attention to the fight against fascism.

The United Socialist Youth of Spain has given an example of unity to the youth of the whole world.

Let us everywhere, among the youth, unite in solidarity for the refugees of Catalonia and in order by our action to compel the Governments to put an end to the criminal policy of Non-Intervention which threatens to assassinate Republican Spain and at the same time the peace and liberty of the whole world.

## Youth and Politics

### The Cause of Spain is the Cause of Youth

By L. Calmat

FRANCE is living through one of the most sad and poignant dramas ever recorded in history. In tens of thousands, the men, old people, the women and children of Catalonia—blood brothers of the French Catalans—murdered and driven from their homes by barbarians more barbarous than the Huns, have crossed the Pyrenees and fled into France.

The French people and its youth, loyal to the great and generous traditions of their country, did not hesitate for a moment, but set about organising, as best they could, a welcome for the refugees by appealing to the generosity of the people. At the same time as the Young Communist League was preparing a great day of collection for Spain on February 5—which brought in one million francs in cash, besides food and clothing—the Catholic students issued the following declaration:—

We have the grave duty of contributing towards the alleviation of frightful misery.

Women and children, Spanish refugees, are suffering and dying for lack of care and food without home or shelter.

We, Catholic students, have resolved to help in accommodating the women and children who have come to seek refuge on our soil.

Throughout France solidarity was organised. The youth—were they Communists or Republicans, Socialists or Christians—obeyed only the dictates of their hearts and came to the aid of the victims of fascism. The youth of France has given a proud example of unanimity in this noble work imposed upon them by the presence of thousands of refugees in their country.

On January 24, 1939, when the hordes of Mussolini were invading unarmed Catalonia, students demonstrated in the Latin quarter of Paris. They formed a long procession which went through the streets of Paris in single file, shouting: "The Italians to Italy!" "Spain for the Spaniards!" and "Arms for Spain!" On January 26 yet another demonstration of students marched past the Italian Embassy in Paris, crying: "Spain for the Spaniards!"

On February 3, when the Italians, aided and abetted by the French Ministers Daladier and Bonnet, threatened to occupy the Pyrenean frontier, hundreds of young workers, led by Raymond Guyot, demonstrated on the great boulevards of Paris, expressing their will to help Spain in order to defend the French nation. At the same time, the Republican and lay youth sent a telegram to the President of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Chamber demanding

"the immediate opening of the frontier and aid to the Spanish Republic; and considering all those deputies who would refuse these measures as responsible for the death of innocent children."

The Radical youth of *Bouches-du-Rhône* adopted a resolution which read:

"We call on the Government and the Party to decide on the opening of the Spanish frontier rendered necessary in the interests of France by the large-scale Italian and German intervention."

The *Jacobin*, organ of the Radical youth movement, published an article which concluded thus:

"I cry out to Republicans—It is not too late to save the Spanish Republic. Send food to Spain! France does not wish to die!"

In spite of the efforts of some capitulators in their leadership, the Socialist youth have realised the danger. An editor of the *Call of Youth* (*Cri des Jeunes*) expressed himself in the following terms:—

"The intentions of Mussolini in Tunis have opened the eyes of many French people. Those who, two years ago, had been the most ardent supporters of a policy of neutrality towards the sister-Republic of Spain, to-day take note—perhaps a little late—that Italy in the Balearics and firmly installed upon the communications between France and North Africa, constitutes a threat to the security of France." It would not be too bold to say that French youth has shown

its disgust and avowed hatred of fascism by uniting and allying itself on the side of its victims.

The young Communists of France have always asserted that all sections and creeds among the youth must sink their differences in order to defend peace, liberty and the independence of their country against the fascist enemy. It needed the appalling drama of Spain to show this spirit of unity in action. But France is now threatened with a similar fate. It is in the interests of youth that they seal a resolute unity before it is forced upon them by sad events. The first condition for achieving such a unity is that the example be set to the country by the Socialist and Communist youth. It is a regrettable fact that the relations between these two organisations have been weakening for the past two years. It is not that the young Socialist members are hostile to unity; but some of the leaders, supporters of the policy of Munich and of the encouragement given to Hitler and Mussolini, have abandoned the struggle against fascism in order to howl at Communism.

The tragedy of Spain must inspire all those who wish to save France. The fascist enemies and the traitors in their pay are speculating on this division among the youth for which youth will pay a heavy price. Recent events prove that the Socialist, Christian, Communist, Radical and Republican youth realise their duty to Spain and towards the safety of France. Step by step, unity is being forged for the defence of the nation. As Maurice Thorez so aptly said:

More and more, events in France hinge on a single question: Who is for and who against Hitler?

Who is against Hitler—that is to say against dishonour and slavery; for France and for Peace?

Who is for Hitler—which means for humiliation and servitude; against France and against Peace?

The new grouping of the French people surpasses by far the limits of the People's Front.

There is a place for everyone in the great fellowship of French youth. Except for the fascists and their Trotskyist agents, who have, in any case, put themselves outside of this newly born unity.

And so it should be! For these people stand solidly with those who are making blood flow in Spain and are threatening France. It is against them that the younger generation of France has united its forces.

### The Situation in Spain and the Tasks of the Youth

ON Monday afternoon of February 20, in Paris, there took place a most important gathering of young Socialists and young Communists from France, Britain, Germany, Italy, Belgium and Norway to hear a report from Santiago Carrillo, the general secretary of the United Socialist Youth of Spain, on the situation in Spain following the loss of Catalonia and what was expected from the youth of Europe.

Carrillo in making his report stated that he had been charged at this meeting to explain the situation and perspective and what was expected from the youth of Europe and after the meeting, he was returning immediately to Central Spain.

The loss of Catalonia is a hard blow not only because it is rich in industry, but also because of the loss of the frontier with Europe; it means the weakening of the capacity for the defence of the rest of Spain. The loss of Catalonia and Minorca is not only a blow at Spain, but is a threat to Britain and France, for the entrenchment of fascist armies may lead to world war.

It was not without the greatest struggle that the fascists were able to occupy Catalonia. Overwhelming superiority of war materials left no alternative to the Republican army but to retreat. One cannot over-emphasise the courage and heroism of the Republican soldiers, of such people as Marco Correlli, who by himself put three tanks out of action.

Many fertile fields and lovely villages have been destroyed by Italians and Germans, masses of refugees have been massacred.

Carrillo in making his report stated that he had been charged with horrors, of people who had been walking for weeks, of aeroplanes machine-gunning fleeing civilians, of mothers leaving dead children by the road-side.

An army of 15,000 Gestapo agents are operating in Barca-

Iona. Thousands of Republicans have been jailed and shot. Gestapo agents control Barcelona and arrest everybody of whom there is the slightest suspicion of their being democratic.

A circular issued by the Gestapo Minister of the Interior, which had fallen into the hands of the Spanish Government, shows how they "are demanding not only the arrest of anti-fascists, but what virtually amounts to the whole population. The only exceptions are the leaders of the P.O.U.M., the Trotskyist organisation who have been secretly working in Barcelona on behalf of Franco, who tried to lead an uprising in May, 1937, and whose disruptive work and giving away of information and sabotage is partly responsible for the loss of Catalonia."

These people are now getting their reward from the Gestapo.

However, despite the great terrors, they have not been able to dominate Catalonia. Catalonia has always been the stronghold of democracy, and in spite of terror, it will never be subdued or conquered.

After the loss of Catalonia, many people thought the Republic was dead. However, the transfer of Negrin and the Government to Central Spain gives the lie to this. This move is not made in order "to die a romantic death"; every friend of the Republic will take it as a signal that the Republic will strive to the end for the defence of democracy and should look upon the removal of the Government to Central Spain as signifying the fact that the Spanish Government believes it is possible to win victory over fascism and save the world from war.

In the central zone there is, including the trained reserves, an army of a million and also the navy. The civilians completely support the army and the spirit of Madrid dominates the whole of the central zone.

This spirit ensures the Spanish people of final victory. To those who say "to continue will mean a spread of war," the reply of the Spanish people is that they are fighting for national independence, and national independence means freedom throughout the rest of the world. There are some people who say that the resistance should be ended in order to stop bloodshed. We know enough of fascism to say that it causes most bloodshed and suffering after the victories by shootings, jailings and torture.

If the Spanish people are able to stop Hitler and Mussolini, they will thus be able to stop the turning of Hitler and Mussolini's troops against other peoples. It is Hitler and Mussolini who, above all, want the Spanish people to stop their resistance.

The struggle will be very difficult, explained Carrillo, and described how he had seen the courage of the youth in Catalonia in the last days of the Republican stand. He had also seen the papers of the central zone, and not a word appeared in the papers, nor amongst the people, about surrender.

There is also the unity of the youth to consider. It is because of the unity of the Socialist and Communist youth (in the United Socialist Youth of Spain) that they have been able to unite all the youth for the struggle to defend the Republic.

Upon us, the youth of Europe, depends the success of the struggle of the Spanish youth, especially since the loss of Catalonia.

It is well known that Germany wants to finish quickly with Spain in order to direct the guns elsewhere. The loss of Catalonia means sacrifices for all youth because the danger is greater for them than ever, because the interests of the youth, as a whole, are menaced.

Therefore we must work harder than ever.

"We shall fight—what of you?" "Will the youth of France and Britain capitulate?" "That is what the Spanish youth are asking." In these words Carrillo challenged us.

He pointed out how in Spain they know that the Munich liquidators want to liquidate Spain also. Peace can be obtained only by struggle. Peace is only defended by fighting its enemy, which is fascism. Peace cannot be gained by capitulation, but only by education of the youth in Peace, which comes from the struggle against fascism.

The Spanish youth have an experience of unity which they offer us. It is through unity they resisted, through unity they will stop the danger to the Spanish youth and to the world, and in the words of Carrillo "to renounce unity is to renounce victory."

It is abundantly clear that what is required, above all, are arms, arms and still more arms for the central zone in order

successfully to throw back the fascists and to so strengthen the resistance as to ensure it ultimately being turned into a victorious offensive. This can only be done with arms.

It is also clear that the central zone needs food, food for the army and the people, medical supplies to combat epidemics, and clothing; and the youth of Europe must try to send these things.

Carrillo ended his report by again saying that he was "sure that the youth of the world would not capitulate." We will fight, we will not capitulate, to save Spain is to save Peace. The energy of youth will ensure victory, for with the youth lies the decision for victory or defeat.

WE ARE SURE WE SHALL CONQUER.

## Chinese Resistance to the Japanese Aggression Develops

By James Gordon

THE last months have seen the strengthening in China of all forces of unity in face of the Japanese aggression, and successful resistance on the different fronts to the advance of the Japanese armies. The Chinese youth has contributed largely to the development of this unity and resistance.

When Wan-Ching-Wei showed himself in his true colours last December, and fled his country, calling for concessions to be made to Japanese militarism and peace to be made with the Japanese Government, he found not the slightest support throughout the length and breadth of the country. Although he was one of the most highly placed officials of the Kuomintang party and although he was chairman of the People's Political Council, only a few isolated individuals followed him in his treacherous flight. The people and youth of China unanimously condemned him. Within a few days of his flight Wan-Ching-Wei was expelled from the Kuomintang Party; the leading generals of the Chinese forces all over the country signed a declaration denouncing him as a traitor and calling for his execution. Within a few days also, Generalissimo Chiang Kai Shek, head of the Chinese Government, had made a vigorous appeal to the people, expressing his determination to continue the resistance until victory; and from all parts of the country thousands of resolutions from popular organisations of every character poured into Chungking, denouncing Wan-Ching-Wei, expressing confidence in the Central Government of China, and determination to carry on resistance. The various Chinese youth and student organisations demonstrated their approval of this policy of resistance, and voted resolutions demanding the arrest of Wan-Ching-Wei as a traitor.

Indeed since the flight of Wan-Ching-Wei, the political unity within China has been considerably developed. Whilst he remained in China, Wan-Ching-Wei and his clique carried on intrigues continually to stir up strife between the various political parties, and especially between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, at the same time as he tried to turn the people away from a policy of resistance to the Japanese aggression. To-day relations between the Kuomintang and Communist Parties are better than ever, and a Committee of co-ordination between the two parties has been established. At the same time the unity of the Chinese youth movement has been strengthened. For instance, the San Min Chu the Youth Corps (Three Peoples Principles Youth Corps) that was set up by the Government in June last year, contained, at first, clauses in its constitution that restricted membership and excluded members of some parties and patriotic associations. To-day all youth, members of all parties, and patriotic associations can freely join the San Min Chu, the Youth Corps.

This unity and will to resist the Japanese aggression was clearly shown at the Fifth Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Kuomintang held at Chungking in the last days of January this year. Speaking at this session, Generalissimo Chiang Kai Shek said:—

"The Chinese people must continue the war of liberation until final victory. Setbacks to Japanese military plans and the policy of setting up puppet governments as well as the deterioration of Japan's internal situation, clearly show the collapse of the Japanese adventure in China. Never will China accept compromise or concessions!"

At the end of this conference an appeal was issued encouraging the people to resistance, and congratulating the Chinese

armies on their heroic conduct. Decisions were taken for intense economic reconstruction in the Western provinces, and a manifesto published that declared that the unity of the people of China, their singleness of purpose, and the courage of their soldiers were a solid foundation for the victory of China. This conference, that marked an important step forward on the road to unity and resistance, was once again welcomed by demonstrations and resolutions of the youth and students all over the country.

With this strengthened unity, the last two months have been months of successful resistance from the military point of view. Since the fall of Hankow and Canton, the Japanese troops have not advanced. On the contrary in many places they have suffered reverses. In *North China*, in the province of *Shansi*, the Chinese Army, with the leadership of the Eighth Route Army, launched a general counter offensive at the beginning of January, 1939, and recaptured several important regions. This has meant that the long-planned Japanese attack on *Shensi* province over the *Yellow River* has not been able to commence.

During the first week of February, 1939, Chinese guerilla troops destroyed 38 Japanese locomotives, 148 vehicles of different sorts, 3,900 metres of railway-line, 14 bridges, and killed 800 Japanese soldiers. This figure is solely the result of fighting along the *Peiping-Hankow* railway line in the northern part of China. The railway line between *Shanghai* and *Nanking*, in the so-called occupied zone, has been repeatedly cut in the last two months. Guerilla forces have won important victories in *Shantung*, *Honan* and *Anhwei* provinces. They have fought 256 battles, killed 12,500 Japanese soldiers, captured 214 machine-guns, and 3,650 rifles. In *Kwantung*, fighting continues around *Canton City*, and the Japanese troops have not advanced, in spite of important reinforcements. Indeed Japanese troops hesitate to try to push forward, surrounded as they are on all sides by regular and partisan Chinese troops, and by a hostile population.

In revenge the Japanese air-force, using *Hankow* as an air-base, have carried out cruel and ceaseless raids on the civil population and open cities all over the country. Some small *Canton* towns have been bombarded thirty-six times in fourteen days. The city of *Wanhsien* had about 1,000 killed in a bombardment last week, and *Chungking*, the provisional capital of China, has suffered very heavily. But this wanton destruction only intensifies the indignation of the Chinese people and their will to resist the Japanese aggression.

In this courageous resistance the Chinese youth and students have played a tremendous role, both at the front and behind the lines, with their work of education and relief. The work of popular education carried on by the youth and student organisations in extending. For instance, 600 mass education classes have recently been opened at *Chungking*, and it is hoped that illiteracy can be totally eradicated from *Chungking* city by the end of 1939. An education ship, carrying educational material of all sorts, books, charts and maps, film, radio, singing and dramatic groups, is journeying to and fro on the *Szechuan* waterways, manned by the youth and students.

Many heroic acts are reported by the Chinese youth at the front and in the partisan units. In *Szechuan*, *Kwangsi*, *Yunnan*, *Kwiechow*, *Shensi*, and in the *Border Region*, military training for the youth is being intensified. At *Kang-da* (the Anti-Japanese University) in the *Bordex Region*, where the students are trained in guerilla warfare, national united front, and international affairs, 50,000 youth all over the country are waiting for entry. The Government Military Institutes have so many volunteers that they find their choice of candidates is made difficult. In the *Hopei*, *Shansi*, *Chahar* region, a so-called occupied area, but in reality a Chinese territory, behind the Japanese lines, with several million Chinese population, under a Chinese government in constant contact with the Central Government by radio, a new Military Academy has been founded that gives the youth a three months training in guerilla warfare.

Thus in China during the last months resistance has developed successfully, unity has been strengthened; the Japanese authorities who had once boasted of a rapid conquest of China, eight to ten months, are now speaking of the necessity of a prolonged war, "perhaps even of ten or twenty years." In this struggle of the whole people, that will lead to the final victory the youth have played a role of the greatest importance.

## The Youth Pilgrimage to London

"Time is short and we must act immediately, but democracy can and will answer the challenge of fascism. In the youth pilgrimage our ranks are united. Our strength arises directly from this unity. Therefore we call upon the people and parties of Britain to join together as we have done, to arouse once more the generous spirit and love of freedom which rests in the heart of the people. It is for this we march."

These are the closing words of a pamphlet issued by the *National Youth Campaign*. More than two thousand pilgrims from the factories, mines, offices, the schools and universities arrived in the capital of our country on February 18th bringing a declaration of their readiness to give service for the principles of peace and freedom. Thousands upon thousands of London's youth rallied to *Trafalgar Square*, to march past the cenotaph with the pilgrims and to lay a wreath there; "To the youth of 1914-18, from the youth of 1939." Then they marched to the Spanish embassy and from there ten thousand proceeded to the great pageant at the *Empress Hall*. The Pilgrimage, organised by seven youth and student movements, the *Young Liberal*, *Labour League of Youth*, *Y.C.L.*, *League of Nations Union*, *Youth Groups*, *Co-operative Youth* and the *Student organisations* appeals to young people of all parties and creeds to stand together in this grave hour for their country. It calls upon them to be the inheritors of the traditions which have given to England the name of the "Mother of Democracy." It recalls all those who have gone before in history and by their words and deeds have served the same cause for which the Pilgrimage was made. The Pilgrimage pamphlet quotes the words of *Milton*:

"By returning of our own foolish accord, nay running into the same bondage, we make vain and viler than dirt the blood of so many thousand faithful and valiant Englishmen, who left us in this liberty, bought with their lives, loosing by a strange after-game of folly all the battles we have won, all the treasure we have spent."

The British youth movement bitterly resent the hatred and shame which Chamberlain's policy has brought upon the country. It will never permit the world to think that the cruel old men of the National Government are the spokesmen of British traditions.

The rising temper of the youth movement is expressed in its activities.

The widespread campaign in aid of Spain has brought in small but regular contributions week by week from girls' clubs, Boys' Brigades, and children at school amounting to over £40,000 last year.

The appeal for hospitality and guarantees for maintenance of young refugees from Germany and Czechoslovakia has brought response from hundreds of branches of youth organisations and from hundreds of thousands of homes. The *National Fitness Campaign* is arousing the interest of all those who seek greater opportunity for sport and at the same time has created unprecedented discussion in the least political quarters, in football clubs and gymnasiums, on the purpose for which the sports movement should fit itself, on the vital question of training democracy.

Those who have taken part in these campaigns, even if do so for quite unpolitical motives, are driven by the circumstances to ask themselves certain questions. Why are Spanish and Chinese people suffering? Why are the Jews persecuted? Why have the Scout movements of Austria and Czechoslovakia been closed down? What is the connection between National Fitness and National Service and the defence of Democracy?

The National Youth Peace Campaign gives an answer to these questions, shows how, by its support of Hitler and Mussolini, the British National Government is not only responsible for the suffering of these peoples, but is betraying the cause of British youth. These problems, which are perplexing the "non-political" youth movement, can only be answered when it is realised that unless the policy for which National Service is asked is a policy for democracy and peace, then this will very well lead to the opposite of the ideals which inspired the policy of the Youth Peace Campaign which can be carried through the *Fitness Campaign*, the *Youth Parliament*.

every type of activity which trains and develops their membership, play a part in defending democracy at home and fulfil our responsibilities to the youth of the world.

Therefore the National Youth Campaign is already influencing and is capable of leading the whole youth movement and of drawing into active co-operation young trade unionists, members of the churches and of the sports clubs. These young people cannot remain indifferent to the choice of Democracy or Fascism. They see the main democratic youth organisations co-operating for a common programme in national and local activity.

They see in this programme a policy on issues of immediate interest to themselves.

They believe in the immediate possibility of an open peace alliance of Great Britain, France, Soviet Russia and the U.S.A. and all powers willing to stand against lawless aggression.

They believe in the meaning of effective home defence and A.R.P. organised under democratic control. They believe that democracy must become real and effective through the fulfilment of the Youth Charter in order that youth may confidently give its service.

The vast majority of young people support such a programme; but they understand that the National Government is opposed to the aspirations of youth. Therefore they will come forward through understanding their responsibility to defend democracy, to oppose the National Government. Every observer in Britain knows that this development is taking place. It is now a question of leadership for this growing movement.

Youth now seeks a leadership not in the form of an individual, not of a party which dictates to the youth movement, but in the alliance of all forces which are agreed on an immediate programme.

The National Youth Campaign can become such a leadership, and the Pilgrimage was but the first step in its realisation.

## Austria's Youth Under Alien Fascist Rule

A NUMBER of measures recently taken in Austria by Hitler's foreign rule prove the increasing discontent among the masses, and the growing resistance of the Austrian people against the foreign oppressors. Austria's youth is by no means outside of this movement. Youth may not have joined in common protest action to the same extent as the adults, but it is none the less a fact that the dissatisfaction of Austrian youth against the alien rule of Hitler is steadily growing. One of the chief causes of this is that the economic position of Austrian youth has not improved in any way. On the contrary. Never before has a generation of young Austrians had to live and work under such conditions of enslavement and coercion as to-day.

Thousands of young Austrians have been sent to Germany for the so-called "land service." Every letter sent home by these young people is a heart-rending accusation against the inhuman methods of exploitation and chicanery employed by the Prussian squires and large landowners who have them at their mercy. Many of these young Austrians have run away, and returned to their homes on foot or by train, or more often by bicycle. In order to prevent this, the Hitler Government has issued two regulations:

- (a) Young Austrians sent to Germany may not take bicycles with them.
- (b) Austrians are forbidden to return to their homes; should they do so, they are to be given no work in Austria, but to be sent back to Germany at once.

In spite of this, many young Austrians return, and spread their opinion far and wide: "Better go begging in Austria than be slaved to death by the Germans."

The household year for girls, i.e., the obligation imposed on every girl to work for one year either in domestic service, or in land or labour service, before she may take up any profession, has aroused great indignation among the Austrian girls. This indignation is expressed in the stormy scenes at the labour exchanges, where the girls appear with their parents and protest in various ways against a measure forcing them to act as maid-of-all-work to some fine lady. Many girls have resorted to a subterfuge to evade this "obligatory year." They have taken a place as maid, but presently reported themselves ill and have then

stayed at home with their parents, the time thus spent counting to the service year. This method has become so common in Germany and Austria that the Nazis have been forced to bring out a law compelling the girls to make up time lost in "pretended illness." The girls are to be examined by an official physician, like soldiers by a military doctor, so that they may not receive any assistance from private doctors.

A few weeks ago great dissatisfaction was aroused among young women in Austria by a notice appearing in the Salzburg provincial paper. The *Reich Women's Leader*, Scholz-Klink, writing under the title "Lady Engineers Not Wanted," states: "For some months there has been lively propaganda in the daily press for engineering as a profession for women. This does not accord with the opinion of the *Reich Women's Leader*." With this the Nazis expose their own lies, spread in Austria immediately after the occupation by the German troops last year—that "in Germany everyone can take up any desired profession." These are only a few examples of the methods by which these aliens destroy, step by step, the rights of Austrian youth.

Besides all this, there is the worsening of the general situation of the population by the reduced wages, the rising prices, and the shortage of certain foods—butter, for instance—all factors fanning the hatred felt by the Austrian people, and Austrian youth, against the "Prussians." Even the official Vienna Nazi paper *Völkischer Beobachter* has had to face up to these facts, and it is interesting to note how it reflects the feeling of the Austrian people. It writes that people "assert" that there was always plenty of butter in Austria, and that it has only run short in the "East Province." And when it is asked why, the reply is: "Because the Prussians are eating it all up themselves."

The Austrians—noted for their inextinguishable humour—like to adopt the form of joke which can be recounted everywhere, and throws ridicule on the regime. A girl who had been in Austria recently related, for instance, that a young Viennese woman asked her, excitedly, if she had seen the enormous crowd at the West Station in Vienna, and the decorations there. On being asked what the festivity had been about, she replied, with a laugh: "ten pounds of butter arrived." Another incident: A man stood before a hoarding reading a poster. A policeman came up and asked what he was doing. "Reading the poster," was the reply. The policeman remarked: "It is only the announcement about the liberation of the East Province." The man looked up, delightedly: "What, have the Pieskes\* gone?"

Austrian youth faithfully sides with the Austrian people, and is becoming more and more a reserve for the Austrian struggle for independence. The hatred against the aliens who occupy the Austrian homeland, and have destroyed all freedom, gives youth the strength to endure in the hard struggle for the liberation of Austria from foreign rule.

\* "Pieske" = term of derision coined by Austrians for those Germans who are hated among the Austrians for their fascist speed-up methods, boasting, and other disagreeable characteristics.

## Youth and Victory of Chilean People's Front

By Harry Robinson (New York)

WHEN, on October 25, Pedro Aguirre Cerda, candidate of the Popular Front of Chile, defeated Ross, the candidate of the 50 feudal oligarchic families and the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis, the youth of Chile rejoiced. Their participation had played an important part in the victory of the people.

Corresponding to the composition of the People's Front, the youth of the Radical Party, the Young Socialist Federation and the Young Communist Federation formed a *Frontist Youth Electoral Committee* after the presidential candidate was selected in July.

This National Committee of the *Frontist Youth Electoral Campaign* proceeded to form similar united committees throughout the country and to organise a national campaign to involve all the youth behind the People's Front candidate. Besides the component organisations, other youth organisations supported the *Youth Electoral Committee*. The powerful Chilean Student Federation, organisation of the university students, officially supported the popular candidate. Special

committees were organised among the high school students (Aguirre Cerda was a teacher), among the sports and cultural clubs, etc.

This whole campaign, independently organised by the youth, was mobilised around a 12-point *youth programme*, which contained the most burning demands of the youth: education facilities in a country with only 60 high schools; sports facilities; university reform; trade union rights for the youth where by law they are not permitted to join unions until 25 years of age; protection of health measures, etc.

In a huge mass meeting and parade of over 20,000 youth in the capital city of *Santiago*, Pedro Aguirre Cerda, officially and in the name of the People's Front, incorporated the youth programme as an integral part of the People's Front programme. Similar united demonstrations took place in over a hundred cities and towns. The youth electoral committees organised special mass meetings, lectures, sports events, picnics, etc., and sent the national leaders, including *Ricardo Fonseca*, General Secretary of the Young Communist Federation, on a series of national tours. Special care was taken, especially by the Young Communists and the Student Federation, to organise *youth brigades* in the cities to visit the surrounding peasantry on Sundays and carry the message of the People's Front into the strongholds of the landlords.

Such was the effect of the 12-point programme that the Social-Christian Catholic Conservative Youth (the Party of Ross) stated that, although they did not support the People's Front candidate, yet they would support the 12-point programme and help the Government to apply it as a means towards the welfare of the youth and the people. A large section of this organisation remained neutral in the elections, leading individuals supported Pedro Aguirre Cerda, and others remained in the Conservative camp.

The powerful united youth movement was a splendid example of enthusiasm and discipline to the whole popular movement and was a great factor in the organisation of huge mass participation in the electoral struggle. The power of the struggle of the masses and its unity could be judged by the events within the National Socialist Party of Chile. Formed in the image of the Hitler Nazi Party, by the use of demagogic "national" slogans, this organisation at its inception was able to attract a certain section of the youth. But as a letter from Chile says:

"For some time, the action of the People's Front and its mass support has been producing constant dissension inside Nazism: attack on Ross, struggle against certain sectors of the German Nazis, statements in support of democracy; all of which has produced many desertions from their ranks. Those who have gone have joined the forces of Ross. After the failure of the putsch (on September 5) and the support of Ibanez and a group of Nazis to the People's Front candidate, this flight has increased. They fought on our side on October 25. We have established Committees of Co-ordination with them; we have attacked the hidden agents of Ross and fascism; we have criticised their uncontrolled slogans and actions. Many of them, and the leader himself (*Gonzalo Von Marees*), have made statements of dissolution as a fascist movement and united to some Ibanist groups, of transforming themselves into a democratic party. . . . Many of them are changing their minds rapidly, with the contact established in the struggle, and they say that they were fooled about the Communists."

Since the election victory, the Nazi Party has disappeared as such. Two groups have emerged. One, the National Fascist Party, which takes its place with reaction in preparing civil war against the people's victory. The other has united with some Ibanist groups to form the *Socialist Vanguard Party* with a democratic programme, pledging support to the new Popular Front Government.

These events within the Nazi Party were preceded by the withdrawal of General Ibanez as candidate for President of the Popular Liberation Alliance. General Ibanez asked that the whole Alliance vote for Pedro Aguirre Cerda.

On election day, the entire youth movement, together with the popular movement, was mobilised to struggle against fraud and the terror of the armed bands of Ross. The people

remained on the streets until the last vote was counted.

But reaction is not taking its defeat lightly and is preparing civil war against the new Government. The main slogan of the Popular Front to-day is "Unity to defend the Victory." Permanent mobilisation and vigilance is being carried out by the Frontist Youth Electoral Committees, which were not dissolved upon victory, as the Trotskyists concealed in the ranks of the Young Socialists demanded. In the face of the burning necessity of unity, the Trotskyists are attempting to create differences between the youth of the Popular Front and the Ibanist youth by attacking Ibanez as a reactionary. But the youth who have fought side by side with the Ibanist youth against the reactionary terror cannot be easily fooled.

The plans of Ross and his clique to precipitate an armed uprising immediately after the elections were frustrated in a great measure by the firm attitude of the Popular Front and the Frontist Youth Electoral Committee towards the army. In a number of radio speeches, statements and visits, the soldiers (who are conscripts) were called upon to "uphold military honour and to respect the will of the people and the Republican Constitution."

To-day a great perspective opens before the youth of Chile. Ross, "the last pirate of the Pacific," has been defeated, but reaction and the national traitors have not been completely smashed. Therefore the Frontist Youth Committee have called upon the youth to be vigilant to help the Government realise the 12-point youth programme and to be alert to all attempts to divide the people and the youth, in order to begin a Francoist attempt upon the Popular Front Government.

During the course of the election campaign, the youth organisations grew enormously. The *Young Communist League* increased from 6,000 to 15,000 members, with profound roots in all the activities of the youth and extended on a national scale.

The election victory and the tasks of the youth was discussed in the Fifth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Young Communist Federation held on November 7. The Plenum stated that it was necessary: to strengthen the Frontist Youth Committees; to establish relations with those youth sectors of the Popular Liberation Alliance (Ibanistas) disposed to defend the triumph; to establish closest unity of the Marxist Youth through the Electoral Youth Committees until achieving complete fusion of the Young Socialists and Young Communists; to strengthen the working-class movement with full youth participation in the trade unions; to concentrate in the extension of work among the peasant youth; and to pay special attention to the army conscripts by helping them economically and culturally, with sound entertainment and friendships, and to help organise a special girls' organisation.

The victory of the Chilean People's Front has been an example to all of Latin America and the Communists of Chile, especially the Young Communists are proud of the decisive role they played in unifying the people for the defence of democracy and the defence of the national interests.

## Youth in the Colonial Countries

By James Gordon

IN the colonial countries, the youth is stirring. In the struggle for democratic liberties, to put an end to poverty and illiteracy and for a better future for the younger generation, an important youth and student movement is developing in India, in the Arab countries and in Indonesia. The colonial youth have the same ideals, are fighting the same struggles as the democratic youth of the West. But with their usual cynicism and demagogic, the fascist powers are trying to divert them from joining with their natural allies in a common struggle for liberty, peace and against fascist aggression.

Since the betrayal of Munich by Chamberlain and Daladier, the demands of the fascist governments of Germany and Italy for colonies have been greatly intensified. By every means in their power, from long treatises on the needs of an expanding population to blunt threats and menaces, they are developing their campaign. But at the same time as they continue their policy of aggression, they continue to address a demagogic appeal to the people of the colonial and dependent countries to give their support. While Hitler demands the return of his African colonies and almost in the same breath as he makes his anti-

ments on the inferiority of all Jewish, negroid and colonial peoples to the Aryan race, he poses as the protector of the Arab and Indian masses. Mussolini, still engaged in the extermination of the Abyssinian people, with thousands of his soldiers invading Spain, demands Tunis at one moment and poses as the defender of Islam at the other. The Japanese militarists at Tokyo, while continuing the massacre of hundreds of thousands of Chinese people, call to the populations of India, Indonesia and Indo-China to rally behind them in the crusade of the yellow race against the "white imperialism of the West." Even General Franco, from time to time, makes his appeal to the Arab world, of which he calls himself the defender. But most frequently these demagogic appeals of fascism are addressed to the youth of the colonial and dependent countries, and in particular to the students who in these countries play a vitally important role in the life of their nations.

Amongst the Arab youth, every type of bait is cynically thrown out by the fascists. Recently *Baldur von Schirach*, head of the Hitler Youth, made a tour of the Near East to make contact with the Arab youth of Syria and Iraq. At a reception given to him in *Damascus*, he advised the Syrian youth to follow the methods and procedure of the Nazi regime in their national struggles. Thousands of pounds are spent monthly by Mussolini and Hitler to buy sections of the Arab press in order to transmit their demagogic appeals to the Arab youth and people. Free invitations are sent to the Arab students through the Italian and German universities to come and spend their holidays in the fascist countries. Recently the Law Faculty of Baghdad received an invitation from the Law Faculty at Rome University to send their staff and students there for a free summer vacation. Several of the papers published in Italy by the G.U.F. (University Fascist Youth) contain regular articles addressed to the Arab youth, some even published in Arabic. Special reductions are made to Arab students who wish to study in the colleges and universities of Germany and Italy. Even General Franco has been issuing invitations to the Arab students to visit the insurgents in Spain.

In India, a number of professors in important universities are paid to act as open propagandists for the Hitler regime. Newspapers are circularised with long articles proving the superiority of the German universities. As for the Arab students, the Indian students are granted special facilities and reductions of fees for visits or study in Germany or Italy. Since the Nazis have annexed Austria, plans for the building of an "India House" in Vienna early this year have been completed. The India Committee of the German Academy in Munich is offering a number of scholarships for Indians to study in German universities as a reward for prize essays on the Aryan origin of the swastika and its common use in India and Germany. Through the Pan-Asiatic Bureau in Tokyo and other machinery, the Japanese militarists carry on similar work of propaganda. They address themselves to youth and students in Indo-China, India, and Indonesia, offer them special facilities for study, praise their nationalist fervour, and promise them every aid for their national struggles.

Fascism has for a long while been trying to gain influence amongst the colonial students studying abroad who often play an important role in national affairs when they return to their homelands. Several years ago, the formation of a *Federation of Indian Students Overseas* was inspired by Rome and Berlin, and the Federation, now dead, held its first conference in Rome and its second in Berlin. Quite recently, when the Arab students of Europe were discussing the importance of holding a conference to study the common problems of their countries, violent efforts were made from Berlin to attract them to that city to hold their conference. The Japanese militarist circles are endeavouring by every means to gain an influence amongst Indonesian students studying at Tokyo and other Japanese university centres.

But in spite of this intensive work and propaganda, in spite of tens of thousands of pounds spent for fascist propaganda in the colonies, of cheap tours, special educational facilities, sending of delegations, buying the press, and an intense demagogic, the youth and students of the colonies have, in the main, seen through the cynical attempts of fascism to win them over and given a curt refusal.

*An important youth and student movement in the colonies and dependent countries. A Pan-Arab Youth Congress will shortly be held in Damascus to bring together the whole Arab youth in the fight against poverty and illiteracy, in defence of*

their national culture and their democratic liberties. In India, the *All-India Student Federation*, in the two years of its existence, has spread throughout the whole country and is bringing the students together on the basis of defence of their national culture, of their academic rights and liberties, and participation in the general national movement for the welfare and liberties of the Indian people. In Indonesia, Burma, important youth movements are growing up, and the ideals of all these youth movements—liberty and democracy, equality of race, inter-confessional co-operation, the fight against ignorance and illiteracy, the fight against aggression and solidarity with the youth and people of the attacked countries—is directly contrary to the aggression, racialism, persecution of minorities and everything that fascism stands for.

The youth of the colonies know how the youth and students have been literally destroyed in those colonies where fascism itself holds sway. They know of the abolition of all free youth and student organisations in Manchuria and Korea, and the total destruction of all national education in these countries. They know the persecution of the youth in Libya and Tripoli and of the literal extermination of the youth by machine-gun and hyperite in Abyssinia. They cannot believe in the demagogic promises of fascism which they know to be based entirely on racialism and aggression.

Following the lead of the Indian National Congress, the All-India Student Federation and its sections has repeatedly condemned fascism for its aggression, the racial policy and treatment of minorities. The Indian youth and students have carried on an extensive campaign to aid the youth and people of China and of Spain: they have collected money, supported the sending of a Medical Mission to China, students go to the villages to call on the people to boycott Japanese goods. In the student press, the greatest enthusiasm has been expressed for the struggles of the Spanish youth and of the International Brigades: the 2nd Students' Conference of Agra University, held last month, unanimously condemned

"the fascist insurgents who have risen against the lawful and established Spanish Government, and places on record its heartfelt sympathy with the students of Spain who are fighting bravely in defence of the freedom of their nation."

The Indian students in Europe have repulsed every effort of Berlin and Rome to influence them. The *Federation of Indian Student Societies in Great Britain*, founded in January, 1937, and now enlarged to become the *Federation of Indian Students in Europe*, in a unanimous resolution passed at the Annual Conference of April, 1938,

"condemns the actions of the fascist aggressors who have brought death in Abyssinia, Spain, China and Austria, and calls the attention of students in all countries of the world to the necessity of uniting to resist any further aggression on the part of the fascist powers."

Important Indonesian student organisations have similarly condemned the fascist aggression, particularly that of Japanese imperialism in China. In December, 1938, an important meeting was organised in *Amsterdam* by the *Perhimpunan Indonesia* to celebrate the 30th anniversary of its activity. The P.I. is a nationalist organisation of Indonesians in Holland, whose members are chiefly students and which has an important prestige in Indonesia itself. At this anniversary meeting, at which about a thousand people were present, fascism was clearly condemned and a call made for the closest co-operation between the people of Indonesia and Holland in the fight against fascism in the West and East. Collections for China were made at this same meeting.

The attempts of Berlin to gain an influence at the conference of Arab students in Europe, held last month, was a failure. The students decided to hold their meeting at Brussels and were warmly welcomed by the Belgian students. They passed a resolution which

"recommended the Executive Committee of the Congress to make contact with international student organisations in order to show them the true face of the Arab world and together with them to serve the cause of peace, liberty and culture."

*Dr. Abdul Hamid Said Bey*, an Egyptian M.P. and President of the Young Men's Moslem Association, recently published a manifesto in which he says:

"After impoverishing the Arabs of Tripoli, the Italians have decided to incorporate Cyrenaica and Tripoli in the Italian Empire as provinces, although declarations that the Duce was the Defender of Islam are still fresh in our minds." The manifesto concludes: "It is the sacred duty of Egyptians and Moslems all the world over to stand as one man in opposition to the fascist policy of exterminating Islam in Tripoli and turning the land into Italian hands."

Mr. Raif Khouri, a young Arab who was delegated by Syrian and Palestine youth to represent them at the *Second World Youth Congress* in New York, writes in a recent article:

"The fascist countries, Italy and Germany, are looking forward to using the Arabs on their side in the event of imperialist war. Fascism has succeeded in attracting a few Arab youth, but in general the Arab youth do not like fascism, they have good reasons for hating it. It is the brutal oppressor of their brother Arabs of Tripoli. It plays into the hands of Zionism by driving the Jews from their lawful homes. . . . Finally, fascism is imperialism, in a most savage form, and they hate imperialism."

The youth of *Tunis* have played an important role in the great demonstrations of friendship with France and against the Italian pretensions in North Africa. They demonstrated their hatred of fascism outside the offices of the Italian fascist paper *Unione* in Tunis.

The desire of the youth of the colonial and dependent countries to co-operate with the youth of the world has been shown by the participation of Indian, Arab, Indonesian and other delegations at the recent World Youth Congress in New York, and by the active participation of the students of these countries in the work of the *World Student Association* (Rassemblement Mondial des Etudiants). The youth of the colonial countries are uniting to preserve their culture, to fight illiteracy and ignorance and poverty, to struggle for liberty and democracy. They will fight against their enemies, both in the form of fascism, which threatens the complete extinction of even their most elementary rights, and against Trotskyism which tries to divide them, and by demagogic slogans of a pseudo-revolutionary character to divert them from their natural allies in the struggle for liberty, the democratic youth of the West. They look to the youth of the metropolitan countries for active aid and solidarity in their work because the youth of colonial and metropolitan countries have a common struggle to carry on for liberty and against aggression, and their unity is a guarantee of victory against fascism which menaces them both.

## In the Country of Socialism

### Twenty-One Years of the Red Workers and Peasants Army

ON February 23 the Red Workers' and Peasants' Army celebrates its twenty-first glorious anniversary. In these twenty-one years millions of young Soviet citizens have passed through the ranks of the Red Army, and have left it as efficiently trained fighters, thoroughly devoted to Socialism, enriched by an all-round cultural education.

Soviet youth gives blood and life to guard the Soviet power. Whether during the first few months of the Soviet power, when a fiery ring of White armies and interventionists strove to destroy this power, or during the struggles at Lake Kassan in August, 1938, when the robber Japanese generals attempted to seize a piece of Soviet country—Soviet youth has always stood in the first ranks of the defence of the Soviet power against the attacks of insolent bandits. This has always been and always will be.

Lenin's words on the organisation of the Red Army have become part of the flesh and blood of Soviet youth. In January, 1918, Lenin stated in his draft of the declaration of the rights of the toiling and exploited people:

" . . . In order to secure all power to the toiling masses, and to remove any possibility of a restoration of power of the exploiters, the arming of the toilers, the formation of a socialist army of workers and peasants, and the complete disarmament of the owning classes, will be determined."

The Red Army is the work of *Lenin* and *Stalin*. The most ardent of the leaders of the Bolsheviks, those most devoted to the cause of the working class—*Voroshilov*, *Budyonny*, *Frants*, *Kirov*, *Ordzhonikidze*, etc.—combined with the heroic figures of the Red Army from victory to victory, until the great land of Socialism was cleared of the last refuse of the White armies and the capitalist intervention troops. Often there were days of bitter trial; the young Red Army was dangerously menaced, and barest necessities were lacking. One document of these days is a telegram sent on January 24, 1919, by *Ordzhonikidze*, then active on the North Caucasian front on the orders of the Bolshevik Party, to *Lenin*:

"We have neither bullets nor cartridges. We have no money. For six months we have been carrying on war by buying cartridges at 5 roubles apiece. *Vladimir Ilyich* (Lenin's name), whilst telling you this, I assure you that we will all rather perish in the unequal struggle than silly our honour by flight. The workers of *Grozny*, of *Vladikavkaz*, are resolutely determined to fight, and not to retreat. The mountain peoples are on our side. Dear *Vladimir Ilyich*, in danger of death we send you our greetings and await your help."

As in North Caucasia, the Bolsheviks were victorious on all other fronts in spite of the difficult position, for their courage, their confidence of victory, and their devotion to the proletarian revolution, were inexhaustible. The riddle of the brilliant victories of the Red Army over the White Armies and the interventionist troops from fourteen capitalist States, lay in the fact that the working class and the toiling peasantry were fighting for their own cause, for their class interests, for the freedom and independence of their homeland.

To serve in the Red Army is a duty and honour of the young Soviet citizens, and is declared to be such in the Stalin Constitution. The term of service begins at the age of 19, and lasts on an average two years. When recruits are called up for service, the occasion is one of festivity for the whole family. Parents, brothers and sisters, are proud that a member of the family is serving in the Red Army. In the countries where Fascism rules, and in many capitalist countries, the period of military service is one of horror to youth. Drill, loss of all personal liberty, and the prospect of risking life for alien and even hostile causes, make the soldier's life a hell.

But in the Red Army service does not bring any cramping of the personality of the young soldier. He does not cease to be a human being. On the contrary, his development is promoted by every means. The Red Army is a many-sided school for the Soviet youth. Here the young Red Army soldier is not only trained in the use of arms in defence of the first socialist State in the world, but enjoys at the same time manifold opportunities of education, and gains knowledge which he needs in life. The Red Army is a university to its soldiers. Prominent scientists and professors are welcome guests in the divisions and barracks of the Red Army. They give lectures to the soldiers. In the town of Smolensk, for instance, the Red Army soldiers have heard lectures by scientists on such interesting and instructive subjects as: The development of life on the earth—Racial theory in the service of Fascism—the causes of eclipses of the sun, etc.

The young worker or peasant, employee or student, leaving the Red Army after his term of service, has changed beyond recognition. Service in the army has reshaped him; he has become a mature, politically enlightened, and all-round educated man. This knowledge has been given him in the Red Army by the commanders, the political workers of the army. On the twentieth anniversary of the Red Army, the People's Commissioner for Defence, *Voroshilov*, was able to say rightly: "He (the Red Army soldier) passes into the Army reserve as a disciplined worker, as a builder of his socialist homeland and of his human happiness."

A widespread network of clubs and reading rooms gives the young Red Army soldier aid in furthering his personal education. There is no officers' mess in the garrisons of the Red Army, but the life of the soldiers and commanders centres around the "House of the Red Army" as cultural centre, accessible to the

rank-and-file and the commander alike, and used by both without restriction.

In the Red Army there is no gulf between the soldier and the commander. Commanders and soldiers are class brothers, they represent one fraternal family, and serve in common the common cause of Socialism. Military service requires discipline, sets high demands, but without drill. When off duty, commanders and soldiers have their social life in common. Both share true humanity, readiness to aid, comradeship. The Red Army soldier enjoys all civic rights like any other Soviet citizen. He has the right to vote and to be elected. In the Supreme Soviet, and in the Soviets of the Union and National Republics, there are many deputies who have been proposed and elected by Red Army soldiers. The soldier has the right of assembly and organisation, he takes part in writing the wall newspaper, he has the right to write for the newspapers, he is not isolated from public life.

The field orders of the Red Army reveal the determined militant spirit of the Red Army, and at the same time its profound humanism. The orders state that the Red Army will annihilatingly defeat any aggressor on his own territory. But the Red Army never regards the workers of the aggressive fascist States as its enemies; it strives for a close alliance with them. The Red Army will wage any war forced upon it by the fascist Powers until these warmongering robber groups have been completely exterminated. The service orders state: "The first prerequisite for victory over the enemy is to win over the masses of the workers and peasants of the enemy, and of the population of the scene of war, to the side of proletarian revolution." Another sentence showing the profoundly humanitarian spirit of the Red Army is the following: "The personnel of the Red Army shall behave with magnanimity toward the enemy prisoner, and give him every help to save his life." The Red Army soldiers and commanders have the duty of removing prisoners at once from the firing line, and of providing them with gas masks.

The Red Army is not an army of aggression. It pursues no predatory aims like those for which youth is callously sacrificed in the fascist countries. It serves peace, the defence of the achievements of Socialism. The Red Army is technically thoroughly equipped, but has besides this, features peculiar to it alone. Voroshilov has said:

"Our fighting forces are only the vanguard of the 170 millions of the army of the fighters for the cause of Socialism, for the great cause of Lenin-Stalin."

The army and the Soviet people are not opposing forces; they are one united and invincible power.

Soviet youth, in serving in the Red Army, serve the ideals realised in their own lives. The oath of the Red Army: "I am always ready, on the command of the Workers' and Peasants' Government, to defend my country, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics," is for the Soviet youth no formality; it is the natural obligation, dictated by their own interests, undertaken towards the socialist fatherland which guarantees them a free and happy life.

## The Three Peculiarities of the Red Army

*Speech of Comrade Stalin at the Plenum of the Moscow Soviet on February 23, 1928, on the occasion of the Tenth Anniversary of the Red Army.*

**COMRADES**—Allow me, in the name of the Central Committee of our Party, to greet the fighters in our Red Army, the fighters in our Red Fleet, the fighters in our Red Air Fleet and, finally, our recruits, the armed workers of the Soviet Union.

The Party is proud that it has succeeded, with the help of the workers and peasants, in creating the first Red Army in the world, which in tremendous fights has helped and defended the freedom of the workers and of the peasants.

The Party is proud that the Army has succeeded in pursuing with honour the hard way of fierce fights against the inner and outer enemies of the working class and of the peasantry of our country, that it has succeeded in developing into a powerful revolutionary fighting force, to the terror of the enemies of the working class and the joy of the oppressed and enslaved.

The Party is proud that the Red Army is pursuing the long road of the emancipation of the workers and peasants from the yoke of the big landowners and of the capitalists and, finally, has won the right to celebrate its jubilee on the tenth anniversary of its existence.

Comrades, wherein consists the strength, wherein lies the source of power of our Red Army? Wherein consist those peculiarities which distinguish our Red Army from all armies which have existed at any time in the world? Wherein consist those peculiarities which form the source of strength and power of our Red Army?

The first and fundamental peculiarity of our Red Army consists in the fact that it is the army of the emancipated workers and peasants, that it is the army of the October Revolution, the army of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

All armies that have existed up to now, no matter what their composition may have been, are armies for the consolidation of the power of capital. They were and remain armies of the rule of capital. The bourgeoisie of all countries lie when they say that the army is politically neutral. That is not true.

In the bourgeois States the army is deprived of political rights, it is removed from the political arena. That is true. But this does not at all mean that it is politically neutral. On the contrary. Always and everywhere, in all capitalist countries, the army has been and is drawn into political struggle in order to serve as a tool for suppressing the workers. Is it not true that in the capitalist countries the army suppresses the workers, that it serves as a support of the master class?

In contradistinction to such armies, our Red Army has the peculiarity that it is an instrument for consolidating the power of the workers and peasants, an instrument for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, an instrument for emancipating the workers and peasants from the yoke of the big landowners and capitalists. Our army is an army for the emancipation of the toilers.

Have you, comrades, noticed that in the old times, and even now in the capitalist countries, the people were afraid of and still are afraid of the army, that between the people and the army there exists a barrier which separates the army from the people? How is it with us, however? With us, on the contrary, the army and the people form a whole, a family. Nowhere in the world are there such affectionate and touching relations between the people and the army as with us. With us the army is loved, respected and cared for. Why? Because for the first time in the history of the world the workers and peasants have created their own army which serves not the masters but the one-time slaves, the workers and peasants who are now free. Therein consists the source of power of our Red Army.

What, however, does the love of the people to its army mean? It means that such an army will have a very powerful support in the rear, that such an army is invincible. What is an army without a powerful support in the rear? Nothing. The greatest armies, the most well-armed armies have crumbled to nothing without a powerful support in the rear, without the support and sympathy of the people at home, of the working population. Our army is the only army in the world which has the sympathy and the support of the workers and peasants. Therein consists its power, therein consists its strength.

That is it which before all distinguishes our Red Army from all other armies which have existed and still exist in the world.

It is the wish and the task of the Party that these peculiarities of the Red Army, that its closeness to, its brotherly connection with the workers and peasants shall be maintained and strengthened.

The second peculiarity of our Army consists in that it, our Army, is an army of fraternity among the peoples, an army for the emancipation of the oppressed peoples, an army for the defence of the freedom and of the independence of the peoples in our country. In the old time the armies were usually trained in the spirit of chauvinism, in the spirit of love of conquest, in the spirit of the necessity of subjugating alien peoples. That is the reason why the armies of the old type, the capitalist armies were at the same time colonial armies. Therein consists one of the chief weaknesses of the old army. Our Army differs fundamentally from colonial armies. Its whole nature, its entire

structure, is based upon the strengthening of the bonds of friendship between the peoples of our country, upon the idea of the emancipation of the suppressed peoples, upon the idea of the defence of the liberty and the independence of the Socialist Republics belonging to the Soviet Union.

Therein lies the second and main source of power and strength of our Red Army. Therein consists that guarantee that our Army will, at the critical moment, find the greatest support among the million masses of all peoples and races inhabiting our vast country.

The wishes of the Party and its task consist in maintaining and consolidating this peculiarity of our Red Army.

Finally, the *third peculiarity* of our Red Army. It consists in the spirit of internationalism, in the feeling of internationalism which permeates our whole Red Army. In the capitalist countries the armies are generally educated in the feeling of hatred of other peoples, in the spirit of hatred of the workers and peasants of other countries. Why is this the case? In order to convert the armies into a sheep-like crowd in the event of military collisions between the States, between the Powers, between the countries. Therein consists the source of weakness of all capitalist armies.

Our Army is built up on a quite different basis. The strength of our Red Army, comrades, consists in the fact that from the very day of its inception it has been educated in the spirit of respect for other peoples, in the spirit of love and respect for the workers of all countries, in the spirit of maintaining and consolidating peace between the countries. And precisely because our Army is educated in the spirit of internationalism, in the spirit of unity of interests of the workers of all countries, precisely for this reason is it that our Army is an army of world revolution, an army of the workers of all countries. And that this circumstance constitutes a source of power and strength to our Army, the bourgeois of all countries will learn whenever they decide to attack our country; for then they will see that our Red Army, educated in the spirit of internationalism, possesses a countless host of friends and allies in all parts of the world, from Shanghai to New York, from London to Calcutta.

The wishes and the tasks of our Party consist in likewise maintaining and consolidating this peculiarity of our Army.

It is thanks to these three peculiarities that our Army knows where it is going, that it does not consist of tin soldiers but of conscious human beings who understand where they are going and for what they are fighting.

But an army that knows what it is fighting for is invincible.

Therefore our Red Army has all the prerequisites to be the best army in the world.

Long live our great Army! Long live its fighters! Long live its leaders! Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat, which created the Red Army, gave it the victory and crowned it with glory!

## Convocation of the XVIII Congress of the C.P.S.U.

THE Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, at its meeting of January 27, decided to convene the Eighteenth Ordinary Congress of the party for March 10.

The *agenda* will be as follows:

1. Report on the activity of the Central Committee to be made by *Stalin*; report of the Central Control Commission by *Vladimirsky*; report of the C.P.S.U. delegation of the Executive Committee of the Communist International by *Manuilsky*.

2. Third Five-Year Plan for the Development of National Economy, report by *Molotov*;

3. Modifications to the statutes of the party, report by *Zhdanov*.

4. Election of a commission for the modification of the party programme.

5. Election of the central organs of the party.

This announcement carries the signature of *Stalin*, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

\* \* \* \* \*

The theses on the report of Comrade Molotov were published. They sum up the successes achieved by the realisation

of the Second Five-Year Plan. We quote below some passages from it:

The basic historical task of the Second Five-Year Plan has been accomplished in the U.S.S.R., all exploiting classes have been completely abolished, all the causes that give rise to the exploitation of man by man and the division of society into exploiters and exploited have been completely eliminated. The most difficult problem of the socialist revolution has been solved—the collectivisation of agriculture has been completed.

"In the U.S.S.R., 'the first phase of Communism, Socialism, has been accomplished in the main' (Stalin).

"The *socialist system of production* became sole and supreme in the entire national economy of the U.S.S.R. Socialist society in the U.S.S.R. is now composed of two classes friendly toward each other—the workers and the peasants, the distinction between whom, as well as that between these classes and the intelligentsia is being effaced and gradually disappearing.

"The average annual *earnings* of workers and office employees throughout the national economy rose by 113.5 per cent. in 1937 as compared with 1932, i.e., was more than doubled. The *wage fund* for workers and office employees rose by 150 per cent. instead of 55 per cent., fixed in the Second Five-Year Plan, i.e., increased two and a half times. The gross income of the collective farmers increased more than 2.7 times in four years (1933-1937) and the money income distributed among the collective farmers for workday units increased 4.5 times during those years.

"A veritable *cultural revolution* was carried through during the years of the Second Five-Year Plan. The number of pupils in elementary and secondary schools rose from 21.3 million to 29.4 million, the number of pupils in the fifth and seventh grades having doubled, and that of the eighth to tenth grades having increased 15 times.

The number of students in higher educational institutions increased to 550,000. Cultural construction was developed in all other spheres as well. Particularly rapid was the rate of the material and cultural development of the peoples of the *Soviet East*.

"The U.S.S.R. has entered a new phase of development in the Third Five-Year period, a phase of the completion of the building of a classless socialist society and the gradual transition from Socialism to Communism, when the Communist education of the working people, the overcoming of the survivals of Capitalism in the consciousness of the people, assumes decisive importance.

"The U.S.S.R. has become an economically independent country which provides its national economy and the needs of defence with all the necessary technical equipment. The industry of the U.S.S.R. holds first place in the world for the rate of its development. As distinct from Capitalism under which, with its great unevenness of development in the various countries, there was no increase in industry as a whole in the past decade, but a noticeable decline in industrial production, in the U.S.S.R. there was a steady and rapid rise in industry.

"In view of the fact that the U.S.S.R. was economically extremely backward in the past, the level of development of industry in the U.S.S.R. from the standpoint of the volume of output *per capita* of the population is even now considerably below that of the technically and economically more advanced capitalist countries of Europe and that of the United States. This insufficiency in the volume of industrial output in the U.S.S.R. must be completely eliminated to secure the complete success of Communism in its historical contest with Capitalism.

"Now the fundamental economic task of the U.S.S.R. is to overtake and surpass the more developed capitalist countries of Europe and America economically as well and completely solve this problem in the immediate future. This requires the maximum development of machine building and the whole of heavy industry; a resolute improvement of the entire organisation and technology of production, combined with the extensive introduction of the latest achievements of science and of inventions, the quantitative

and particularly the qualitative growth of industrial cadres and a high mastery of technique in industry, transport and agriculture. We must ensure a high productivity of labour on the part of the workers, peasants and the intelligentsia.

"It is necessary to raise consumption by the population one and a half to two times. It is necessary to accomplish an important stride forward in the historical task of raising the cultural and technical level of the working class, the advanced and leading force of the socialist society, to the level of engineers and technicians.

"Under the conditions of the growing aggressive forces of imperialism surrounding the U.S.S.R. the creation of large State reserves is indispensable."

The theses then enumerate the tasks which will be confirmed by the Congress.

## Population Census in the Soviet Union

ON January 17, 1939, the population census was begun throughout the territories of the U.S.S.R. In the more inaccessible regions such as the mountains of Pamir, the sandy region of Kara-Khoum and the snowy tundras, the census is already complete. The work lasted for seven days in the towns, and ten days in the rural districts.

Aided in their task by an enthusiastic populace, 500,000 census workers took part, having had specialised training for this work. The Soviet organisations headed by the Bolshevik Party, the trades unions and the Communist youth, had explained to the citizens the very great importance of the census.

The 1939 census, carried out under the Stalin Constitution, will make possible a full gauge of the formidable successes of Socialism since its inception. Soviet youth will look with pride on the record of struggles and social victories in which they have played such a great part.

A comparison between the present figures, based on preliminary calculations, and those of the Tsarist census of 1897, show an edifying difference.

Russia, at that time, had some 79,000 students; there are now 950,000. Engineers who numbered 4,000 now exceed 600,000. The birthrate has grown unceasingly, and with an ever-increasing rhythm, while the mortality figure for 1937 was less than 40 per cent. of that in 1913.

The 1926 census, made during the period of struggle for socialist industrialisation of the U.S.S.R. gave the following figures for the social structure of the population: more than five-and-a-half million workers, one million unemployed and 845,000 employers engaging paid manual workers.

Since 1926, profound modifications have taken place in the distribution and composition of the population. The Stalin Constitution is a result of these changes. In analysing these transformations at the Eighth Extraordinary Congress of the Soviets, Stalin said:

"There is no longer a capitalist class in the domain of industry; there is no longer a kulak class in agriculture. In commerce there are no longer merchants and speculators. All the exploiting classes have been liquidated. There remain only the class of workers, the class of peasants and the class of intellectuals."

New towns have sprung up, built by an enthusiastic and progressive youth vanguard—such places as *Komsomolsk*, *Kirovsk*, *Igarka*, etc. The town of *Stalinogorsk* which did not exist in 1928, counted more than 200,000 inhabitants in 1935.

For Soviet youth, the future is not a source of anxiety as it is for the youth of the capitalist countries. During the last ten months of 1938, 100,000 more marriages were registered than in the corresponding period in 1937.

The number of divorces in 1937 was 47 per cent. lower than in 1936.

Youth occupies a preponderant place in the U.S.S.R. With an increased birth-rate and a lower mortality-rate, the figure of youth show a percentage about one-and-a-half times higher than in Germany.

Finally, unemployment is completely unknown in the U.S.S.R. where, on the contrary, new professions are being created as a result of the use of machinery in agriculture.

The 1926 census gave valuable information which helped

towards the realisation of the First Five-Year Plan.

The 1939 census will furnish the figures necessary to deepen and develop yet further the work of Socialism. Firstly in the economic sphere, for the organisation of production, the satisfaction of consumers' needs, for building dwelling houses, schools, maternity homes and creches, for increasing tourist and goods transport; and in the administrative sphere, for the regional division of the U.S.S.R., the demarcation of the federal and autonomous Republics, for the defining of electoral districts and local Soviets.

On the census sheet which the Soviet citizen fills in, questions are asked concerning nationality, native language, social category, type of work and means of livelihood. The question of race and creed is not mentioned.

The census is taken by families. The figures thus obtained will provide an understanding of the activity and development of the family, and show the effect of the aid given by the Government to large families.

At a time when, in the capitalist countries, youth is being prepared for a slaughter for aims alien to its own interests, Soviet youth is offered a life of work and happiness. Soviet youth will not allow fascism to touch the work which they have undertaken and which they intend to carry on along the path of Communism.

## Work is a Matter of Honour

By P. Steiner

THE capitalists all over the world, in the name of humanitarian principles, raised their voices in a chorus of indignation against the new measures taken at the beginning of this year in the U.S.S.R. to reinforce the discipline of labour. Let these enemies of the Soviet Union carry on to their hearts' content. The Soviet workers need not worry about their concern. The progressive youth of the whole world understand the meaning and the value of these laws and approve of them.

These measures correspond to the desires expressed by the vast majority of the workers in the U.S.S.R. They have been decreed by the Council of People's Commissars, the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Central Council of Trade Unions. Put into operation on January 1, 1939, these measures aim at protecting the interests of the conscientious workers against the abuses of the small minority of "leadswingers," those elements, as yet, unconscious of the necessity of honest labour, whose laziness induces them to twist the Soviet laws to their own advantage, getting the most out of it for themselves with the least amount of labour. These parasites of collective labour put brakes on production and hindered the development of national economy. Besides, it was not fair to the honest workers, who were justly indignant about it; no appreciable difference between an honest worker and a "leadswinger," both enjoying the advantages of socialist society in the same measure. Penalties? Dismissals were not very effective, because dismissed workers immediately found employment in some other enterprise (in the U.S.S.R. the labour tickets make no mention of reprimands, but only of awards).

The old regulations entitled workers to paid holidays after five and a half months' service in the same factory or office. As soon as this time elapsed, the "leadswingers" would change their employment, thus wangling two paid holidays each year.

According to the new decree, the right to paid holidays will only be granted after eleven months of uninterrupted service. Any worker leaving his employment of his own accord will be obliged to give a month's notice.

Houses constructed for their employees by factories and other enterprises were often occupied by workers who had left their employment voluntarily or had been discharged for disciplinary reasons.

Henceforth, factory and office workers availing themselves of living accommodation belonging to the State or social administrations or organisations, leaving their service voluntarily or having been discharged for any offence, will be evicted within ten days by an administrative order, without obligation to find alternative accommodation.

Paid holidays for expectant mothers have been dealt with similarly. Previously, some would get employment just before childbirth, with the object of getting a holiday at the expense of

the State and without intention of continuing their work. Now seven months' uninterrupted service are required for the right to paid holidays for the period of childbirth. This period has been reduced to 35 days before and 28 days after childbirth. This reduction is, however, to the advantage of Soviet women. In the last days of her pregnancy she is only employed on light work, under medical supervision; after childbirth she can leave her child in a crèche or kindergarten; if her child is at all sick, she has only to telephone for a nurse, who will come and tend it as long as it is necessary. All this is free of charge, thus her own income and the national economy gain by the new laws.

In the U.S.S.R., the seven-hour day is generally a privilege not enjoyed by workers of other countries. But the Soviet workers understand that in order to maintain the standard of general well-being, these seven hours must be worked conscientiously without loss of time; they know that they and they alone gain from their labour. The great majority of conscientious and honest workers cannot tolerate a few shirkers who are always late to work, first to knock off for meals, wasting their time the rest of the working day, constantly changing their employment, yet enjoying the same privileges as themselves.

The fundamental rule of a socialist society should be applied: he who does not work shall not eat.

With this in view, the Council of People's Commissars, the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Central Council of Trade Unions of the U.S.S.R. have decreed:

To advise all undertakings and administrations to begin, in conjunction with the trade unions, an energetic struggle against all those who do not execute their duties honestly; adopting the following disciplinary measures: warning, reprimand, reprimand with threat of dismissal, allocation to a lower-paid employment for three months, or degradation. Any employee incurring three of these penalties in a month, or four in two months, shall be dismissed.

Any person in a reasonable position who does not apply these measures shall be subject to punishment involving dismissal from their post and legal proceedings.

The decree also includes the following modifications to social insurances:

In case of dismissal without sufficient reason, unemployment insurance shall be paid according to the average salary, for a period not exceeding twenty days; the management of undertakings and administrations, the trade union committees and rates and disputes commissions shall be obliged to examine claims for unjustified dismissals within three days of the lodging of the complaint; in the same case a five-day period is permitted for judiciary bodies.

Benefit for temporary inability to work (except in cases of pregnancy) is paid to trade unionists according to the length of their uninterrupted service as follows: over 6 years, 100 per cent. of their wages; from 3 to 6 years, 80 per cent.; from 2-3 years, 60 per cent.; up to 2 years, 50 per cent.

Youth receives special attention. Trade unionists under 18 years of age have the right to the following rates of benefit: for uninterrupted service of more than 2 years, 80 per cent. of their wages; up to 2 years, 60 per cent. Apprenticeship in schools, factories or workshops counts as uninterrupted service.

The rates of benefit for organised miners are as follows: over 2 years, 100 per cent.; up to 2 years, 60 per cent.

In undertakings put into operation after January, 1933, organised workers and employees who have served uninterruptedly since January 1, 1936, have the following rights for benefit for temporary inability to work: 5 years' service, 100 per cent. of their wages; 3 to 5 years, 80 per cent.; for unorganised workers these benefits are halved (except in cases of pregnancy and child-birth).

Employees dismissed for defaulting or misbehaviour, or leaving their work voluntarily, will forfeit their right to benefit until completion of six months' service in another undertaking.

Places in rest homes shall be reserved for employees with two or more years' uninterrupted service in the same undertaking. Pensioners with five or more years' uninterrupted service in an undertaking have a right to a place in a special sanatorium before the final settlement of a pension. The pensions are awarded according to age, sex, and nature of work.

In cases of disability of persons under the age of 20 years, caused through accidents at work, or professional diseases,

pensions are allowed irrespective of length of service.

Thus, honest workers and "leadsplitters" from now onwards are treated differently; the shirkers will no longer be able to live on the backs of the workers.

Besides, once the error of their ways is explained to the less conscientious workers, they will realise the necessity and the honour of co-operating honestly in the fulfilment of their common tasks as members of one big family.

The results of these measures are already evident; for instance, in the Donets coal basin, the miners had delivered on January 25, 1939, 5,831,277 tons of coal, that is 224,661 tons above the scheduled plan, thus fulfilling it by 104.2 per cent.

This is only one example.

Resolutions are pouring in from all quarters, expressing the satisfaction of the workers and their gratitude to the Party and the Government. The Soviet youth, engaged in forging its future, applauds these measures directed against an attitude so foreign to their aspirations, to emulation and Stakhanovism. Soviet youth knows what a happy life it can attain working within the framework of the Stalin constitution, always on guard against any attack on the tasks they have set themselves.

## From the Two Hemispheres

### The Young Socialist Guard Congress Calls the Youth to Action

By Pierre Bosson

ON January 28 and 29 there was held in Brussels a Congress of the Young Socialist Guard movement of Belgium.

On its agenda, amongst other things, figured the struggle against war and aid for Spain which is defending our life and our freedom.

We have only one thing to regret with respect to this Congress, and it is the fact that the attacks of the Socialists against the movement have not been condemned. These attacks, disguised under the mask of anti-communism, show the desire of the Socialists not to carry out the decisions of the Belgian Labour Party Congress.

The recognition of the Burgos Government approved by a "shadow Congress" is an illustration of that attitude.

We are pleased to note that Comrade Godefroid who reported on the question of the struggle against war has adopted a correct attitude on all the essential problems.

We are now past the stage of empty phrases and meaningless slogans.

The resolution adopted by the Congress stresses the necessity of distinguishing the special character of every war, and protesting even more energetically against any attempt to liken the present war in Spain to the war of 1914-1918.

This is a smack in the eye to the Trotskyist agents of fascism who have the audacity to deny fascist intervention in Spain, and who plot and act against the Popular Front government presided over by the socialist Negrin.

Godefroid brings out another interesting point:

"In England, France, Belgium, everywhere, the most reactionary elements, our national fascists, our Rexists, our cagoulards, constitute the party of internal invasion, hiding with great difficulty, their sympathy for Hitler."

Further, he said:

"Foreign fascism finds accomplices even in the midst of the democratic governments themselves, it is sufficient to mention Chamberlain, no further proof is necessary."

Perhaps if any further proof were required, we could also mention Spaak, who puts the interests of Franco and his masters from Rome and Berlin before those of democracy, the working-class and even his own party.

It war breaks out, continued Godefroid, this would already be our first defeat and we would have to eat dust in preparing our revenge.

With our first blow we should bring down Hitler and Mussolini, the two evil beasts of prey.

But, war has already started and the first round is being played out in Spain and China. As Godefroid says, it is important to defeat Hitler and Mussolini.

The fight for Spain, the fight against fascist invasion of

Spanish soil, for the liberation of the Spanish people from the accursed stranglehold, this is to-day the fight against war.

The Congress and the whole Young Socialist Guard movement has shown its understanding of this problem by discussing in detail, the necessary aid to Republican Spain for the victorious termination of the war.

The Congress ardently proclaimed that it is not too late to save Spain! It is not too late as yet, but we must act, and act quickly. All the proceedings of the Congress were centred round a call to action addressed, not only to the Young Socialists, but to the whole of the working youth of Flanders and Wallonia.

This was indeed a necessary appeal made urgent by the tragic situation facing Republican Spain. As the Congress unanimously declares in its resolution, Spain can only be saved if the collaboration is sought of all democratic and anti-fascist forces and the whole of the virile youth of the country.

Further, the resolution mentions the following:

The Young Socialist Guard wishes to see the intensification of the material aid given by our Government to the civil population of Republican Spain, and calls upon the Belgian government to take energetic action in order to obtain the calling of the non-intervention committee for the purpose of confirming the good faith of the Republican Government, and its fulfilment of the decisions taken with respect to the withdrawal of international volunteers, and, in view of the violation of the Pact by the fascist powers, to take the necessary initiative for its termination.

The Young Socialist Guard supports the call of the Spanish Trade Unions and brings to the attention of the Internationals, both trade union and political, the necessity of issuing a call to the international working class for it to insist, by every means, on the re-establishment of international rights.

The Congress unanimously regrets the hasty manner in which the last Congress of the Labour Party was called. It was an elegant way in which to condemn the odious manœuvres of the Socialists against the clearly expressed desires of the Belgian workers.

The Youth has hoisted the banner of struggle. They have responded to the appeal for help of the Spanish Youth. They want to help them, efficiently and urgently. They know that in Spain the destiny of our own country is being decided. It is not yet too late!

Arms and ammunition for Spain to-day will save our lives to-morrow!

We must act now! This is the duty of Youth to itself, to the noble ideals which barbarous fascism wants to destroy, to the fine cause of Democracy and Freedom, for which a great people are fighting and dying.

The call to action on behalf of Republican Spain launched by this Congress, will find a response and following amongst the Youth of our country.

## After the Congress of the Pax Romana

By Otto Maier

AT the conclusion of the 17th Congress of the "Pax Romana," the Congress of the World Federation of Catholic Students, held in Yugoslavia in 1938, a resolution, under the title of "The Catholic Student, Communism and Social Action," was issued.

Before examining in detail the contents of this resolution, let us recall 1937 and the 16th Congress of the "Pax Romana," held in Austria. To the delegates of the 16th Congress, Austria was presented as a country of political catholicism, as a bulwark against German fascism.

Less than a year later, at the 17th Congress, representatives of the political catholicism of Austria were conspicuous by their absence. To-day they are interned in Hitler's prisons, in Gestapo concentration camps, side by side with Austrian anti-fascists; since the resolution of the 16th Congress, Hitler's armies have invaded their country. Since then Austrian Catholics have become the object of humiliations and terrible persecutions, Catholic societies have been dissolved, their organisations and high schools closed, their newspapers banned. Just as in Germany the Catholics have experienced the fascist terror, the Catholic people are suffering under the same cruel persecutions as the Communists, Socialists and Democrats.

In spite of it, the 17th Congress of the "Pax Romana" has not faced up to these facts, has not reacted either to the sufferings of the Spanish people, to the massacre of Christians in Guernica and elsewhere, no more than to the attitude adopted by the Christian youth in these countries in face of fascist danger.

The Congress of the "Pax Romana" discussed, however, the attitude to adopt to Communism and the Communists and to the social problems.

Both these questions are undoubtedly of great importance, and many young people all over the world are deeply interested in the relationship between the great forces, Communism and Catholicism, because all the working youth, whether Catholic or Communist, is equally menaced by fascist reaction. The Congress of the "Pax Romana," in taking a negative attitude towards the Communists, has solved the problem in a manner fatal to the future of all the youth.

At the second World Youth Congress, the general secretary of the Young Communist International, R. Guyot, put forward several points on which collaboration was possible:

Christianity preaches freedom and dignity of the human personality.

We Communists accept, without reservation, this principle and consider its realisation as one of our main tasks.

Christianity preaches the equality of all men before God.

We Communists fight for the equality of rights of all men and of all peoples, for their right to freedom of conscience and creed, for a social regime guaranteeing to everybody without distinction of their social origin, sex or nationality an equal chance in life.

Christianity preaches love of one's neighbour.

We Communists are also in favour of the love of one's neighbour, and we fight for him because we know that this makes for the maximum of happiness. We understand by happiness not only material well-being, but also the joy of labour, thorough education, full development of all capacities, love of arts, sciences, high human ideals, the feeling of collective effort and the consciousness of doing the right job and contributing to the common good. We Communists encourage solidarity which raises men above their own "ego" and makes them help, to the best of their ability, their brothers in distress.

Christianity expects everyone to strive for moral perfection.

We, Communists, fight for the perfection of the human race, against the oppression and humiliation of the human personality by capitalism, against men being driven to drunkenness and degeneracy by poverty and slave-driving, by racial persecution and national hatred cultivated among the peoples, by the deep immorality of the dominant social order.

The Congress of the "Pax Romana" advocated the struggle against Communist influence in the universities. One would think that Communists destroyed universities and were enemies of science, whereas, in fact, they are its most ardent defenders. Is not fascism the enemy of science and arts? Does not fascism destroy scientific works and insult their authors? It is against the fascist influence that the university youth should unite its forces.

The young Communists have no doubt about the enthusiasm of young Catholics in their struggle for social progress.

The stretch out their hands to them for collaboration in all possible problems.

There are already many pioneers of fruitful collaboration in Germany, Spain and China. In Switzerland, young Socialists, Catholics and Communists work together in the "Union of Action" against the Nazi danger.

But in order to bring about this unity of action there is no need to wait for a rain of fascist blows upon us. Prevention is better than cure.

The Congress of the "Pax Romana" has not satisfied the aspirations of the youth; we hope that the position advocated with respect to the Communists will not be the last word of the Catholics.

## NOTICE

All correspondence and all subscriptions to "World Youth Review" should be addressed to the Workers' Bookshop, 49 Farringdon Road, London, E.C.1.

## The Strange Theories of the "Cri des Jeunes"

By Elie Duguet

**I**N its issue of February 1, the "Cri des Jeunes" ("Call of Youth"), official organ of the Socialist Party youth of France, continues to lavish praise upon Hitler. The editor, after having minutely examined Hitler's various speeches, has extracted all those phrases which appear to attenuate the vehemence of "Mein Kampf" with regard to France. He writes as follows:

"It is true that, since January 30, the Fuehrer has ceased his verbal attacks upon France, and, on various occasions, has declared his desire for closer relations."

Can it be true then that Hitler has ordered all copies of "Mein Kampf" to be withdrawn? Has he dissociated Germany from Italy's claims? Has he abandoned his desire for colonies overseas? Has he really renounced the cathedral of Strasbourg? This is what the "Cri des Jeunes" says:

"Whatever the acts of Germany—large-scale rearmament, military reoccupation of the Rhine zone, the Anschluss, German interference in the Spanish civil war, and, quite recently, the Czechoslovak affair—rightly or wrongly French public opinion has been profoundly disturbed.

"This disturbance is not unconnected with a violent press campaign, conducted and financed by Moscow and various other financial and spiritual powers."

Therefore the *Cri des Jeunes* is anxiously eager to discover the few phrases wherein Hitler, for good immediate reason, has desired to show a "desire for closer relations;" but it remains silent upon Hitler's acts. The *Cri des Jeunes* advocates a policy to its readers which is strange indeed—the policy of submission to the ruler of the Third Reich.

If the French public is disturbed, the *Cri des Jeunes* has told us, it is not because of any warlike activities on Hitler's part but because Moscow has been conducting a press campaign. Don't whisper a word against Hitler, but shout aloud your slander of the Soviet Union. When Hitler invades Austria keep silent! When he proceeds to dismember Czechoslovakia, keep silent! When he stains the soil of Spain with blood, keep silent! As the article in the *Cri des Jeunes* concludes:

"The Fuehrer's statements, and even the signing of the 'good neighbours' declaration, have not sufficed fully to reassure it (French public opinion). Under these conditions, it is well not to close our ears to any reasonable proposals which may be made to us; if needs be, we might even evoke them. But this should not exclude vigilance and guarantees."

It is truly amazing to see how gracefully those who slander the Soviet Union and the united front of the working class and the youth, express their willingness to lend their "ears to any reasonable proposals" emanating from Hitler.

If you believe that Hitler is capable of making "reasonable" proposals, you believe that he may be right. Is it possible that a young Socialist can speak in this manner? Is Hitler right in demanding colonies? Since when have we young revolutionaries looked upon colonies as so much merchandise, passing from hand to hand, flung to the imperialist brigands to appease their greed?

Could we, without the flush of shame, see our colonial brethren handed over to the dictator of Berlin, who preaches the inferiority of races and for whom the terms "Jew" or "Negro" are the supreme insults? This in itself should be sufficient to warn and deter us. But, to go on to admit that the fascists can make "reasonable" claims is to agree to strengthen the Hitlerite regime, to swell its prestige, to avoid everything which might embarrass it. It was such considerations which, at Munich last September, led to the betrayal of Czechoslovakia and of France.

It is similar considerations which tend to favour a victory by Mussolini in the Spanish war, when it would be quite easy to secure his defeat. But such defeat would be—if not destruction—at least a frightful blow to Mussolini's regime, just as a check to Hitler last autumn, in the matter of Sudetenland, would have constituted a formidable blow to the Nazi regime.

This, of course, is the secret reason for the Munich policy of the London and Paris bankers. We venture to hope, however, that the *Cri des Jeunes* is not guided by the same considerations. Nevertheless, the effects of its policy are the same, and its voice disconcertingly in harmony with that of the worst enemies of world youth.

The entire policy developed by the *Cri des Jeunes*, which also, so far, has been that of the leadership of the French Young Socialist movement, is the result of the following estimate of fascism, expressed in an article in the *Cri des Jeunes* of February 1:

"But nowadays, when the dictators are attacking the financial powers which rule the world, these same Communist leaders . . ."

This is how the *Cri des Jeunes* makes Hitler into an enemy of the money power, as though Hitler and Mussolini were not, on the contrary, the servants and representatives of the financial oligarchy; as though the National-Socialist movement had not been launched by Thyssen and other German industrial or financial magnates! As though Mussolini and the Ciano family, into which the Mussolinis have married, were not themselves the representatives of Italian finance. As though fascism in Spain were not patronised and subsidised by the multi-millionaire, Juan March! As though the dissolved fascist Fiery Cross bands of France—now the "French Social Party"—were not the tool of Wendel, Mercier, Michelin and other capitalists and financiers. As though Hitler were implementing a policy contrary to the interests of the financial powers. As though Colonel de La Rocque—chief of the French Social Party—were in favour of eliminating the 200 families of France.

Let the *Cri des Jeunes* give heed to, and profit by, the following summing up of fascism by General Secretary *Godefroid* of the *Belgian Young Socialist League*, in the official review of that organisation:

"We put the following question in all sincerity. In 1914, fascism did not exist. We were faced then only by ordinary capitalism, classic capitalism. Too many militants forgot this.

"Fascism is the most reactionary, the most barbarous, the most brutal form of large-scale capital. In its very essence fascism is opposed to the conceptions of co-operation, of community, of a forward march. Fascism possesses nothing which binds it to humanity. It is darker than the darkest periods of history. It persecutes with sadistic refinement. Fascism is the negation of liberty, of culture, of progress, of thought, of mankind. It is a reactionary revolution; it is a violent step backwards."

The young Socialists of France and of other countries must be on their guard. When fascism, precisely in order to deceive the youth, assumes an anti-capitalist mask, young Socialists must not believe that this is its veritable aspect. With all our strength we must combat the spread of such theories among the young workers.

Those voices which plead: "do not let us close our ears to any reasonable proposals of Hitler's" are not only those of the most bitter enemies of the united front: they even poison the atmosphere within the ranks of the Socialist youth.

In the article quoted above, *Godefroid* also writes:

"Speaking in the name of the French Young Socialists, Bernard Chochoy has stated that our feeling of relief was stronger than our sense of shame when Czechoslovakia was sacrificed. Will he feel the same way tomorrow, if Chamberlain and Daladier sacrifice heroic Spain in the same way?" And further on he adds the following:

"There are perhaps some comrades who believe that we should allow everything to drift with the current. This is a pernicious and debilitating theory. Do they really believe that Socialist action will still be possible if tomorrow fascism could let fall its heavy stone upon the grave of humanity? Is it not an aberration of mind which is of profit to fascism when a French Young Socialist of the Paul Faure tendency seeks to explain the 'bellicosity' of Léon Blum—the Blum of 'non-intervention'—by his Jewish origin?"

Thus we see to what lengths may lead these ideas which are being introduced among the membership of the French Young Socialists. Fascism is represented as the angel of peace, while Blum is accused of bellicosity, just as in the *Temps* (the organ of the French steel trust) and in the Hitler press. Fascism is also presented as being hostile to the financial powers. And even Anti-Semitism finds its way into the ranks of the Socialist Youth.

Under such circumstances we cannot be surprised, however much we may regret, that the membership of the French Young Socialist League has declined from 50,000 in 1937 to 15,000 at

the present time. This is the result of a policy which continues to vaunt the Munich betrayal and the blow thereby dealt everywhere to the working class, democracy and peace. It is the result of a policy of hostility to a united front of anti-fascist youth. It is the result of definitions—incorrect, to say the least—of what fascism is. It is the result of a campaign of slander against the Soviet Union and against the Communists.

It would indeed be desirable to see the *Cri des Jeunes* and the leadership of the French Young Socialist movement adopt a different attitude towards fascism and towards the Munich policy.

The Young Socialists of France must not continue along the road which leads to political bankruptcy and the disintegration of its own ranks. Such is the wish—we feel sure—of the French Young Socialists, as it is the ardent desire of the Belgian Young Socialist Guard, of the Unified Young Socialists of Spain, and of all those young anti-fascists who have been driven from their homeland by the dictatorships of Berlin and Rome.

In face of the serious events of the moment, the struggle against the theories which have been introduced among the membership of the French Young Socialists becomes a struggle for the united front of all anti-fascist youth—that certain guarantee of our victory over fascism, that creator of war, ruin and death.

## The National Parliament of Youth

By A. K.

DURING the past eighteen months there have been a number of new and significant developments in the youth movement in Great Britain. One of the most important of these has been the growth of democratic feeling among young people in response to events at home and abroad. Disgust at the betrayal of the Czechoslovak people, coupled with ever-increasing admiration for the people of Spain and China, has led to an awakening of the democratic spirit all over the country, especially among the young people, and a determination to defend the rights and liberties which were won by their fathers and have been handed down to them.

Yet, in many instances, this feeling for democracy has been given no real means of expression, and the ordinary young person has been given little opportunity to demonstrate in a practical way his belief in liberty. The Youth Parliament will bring together the youth of all beliefs and opinions to discuss their problems on the background of the threat everywhere to democracy and their ideals, and the proposal to hold it has been greeted with extraordinary enthusiasm.

Early plans for the Parliament were made last July, but since then the idea has altered and developed until now it promises to be one of the most important and representative undertakings ever planned by young people.

The Parliament will be held in London from March 24-27, and the degree of support it has obtained is shown by the fact that organisations with such widely differing points of view have welcomed the proposal as a vital means of giving practical expression to the work they are doing to train young people for democratic citizenship, and are taking an active part in the preparatory work. They include political, social and religious organisations—the Junior Imperial League (Young Conservatives), Young Liberals and Young Communists, together with all the student political federations—the Girls' Clubs, Girls' Friendly Society, Settlements Association, Y.W.C.A., Youth Council of the Church of England, Youth of the Methodist Church, Congregational Union Youth, Student Christian Movement, Young Zionists, University Jewish Federation—these are but a few, and the number is steadily increasing as interest in the Parliament spreads.

The main aim of the Parliament will be educational, and great importance is being laid on the preparatory work that is carried on, both inside the organisations and in joint discussions between the different organisations in local youth forums, youth town councils, etc. It is intended that these discussions shall centre around consideration of the whole question of the growth of the British constitution, the struggle of the people for their democratic rights, the machinery of British democracy, and, most important, the responsibility of young people to play their full part in the life of the community.

National youth organisations are entitled to submit Bills

for discussion at the Parliament, on problems which particularly concern their members. An indication of the response to the Parliament is the number and variety of Bills submitted—thirty Bills from twenty organisations, the majority of which show a keen realisation of the difficulties facing young people to-day. The League of Nations Union Youth Groups and Universities section are presenting a Peace Bill, demanding that the Covenant of the League of Nations shall be incorporated in the constitution. The National Union of Students, the leading student organisation in Britain, has prepared a very comprehensive Bill on Education, based on extensive research, and this will receive considerable support from other organisations taking part. The Y.W.C.A. will present three Bills, Jewish youth and students a Bill dealing with the Jewish problem; the Girls' Clubs a Bill on office conditions and another on nutrition; and the Young Methodists are presenting an extremely interesting Bill on Housing, which will include constructive proposals for the re-housing of a London borough, accompanied by detailed architectural plans. The Youth Trade Union Movement will present one on technical training. Other subjects to be covered are Indian Independence, Physical Fitness, Unemployment, Hours and Conditions of Work, Colonies, and Bills on the Democratisation of the Armed Forces and Fitness by the Y.C.L., etc. It will also be possible to present amendments to the Bills and Motions.

An important object of the Youth Parliament will be to demonstrate exactly how the democratic machine works in Britain, and Parliamentary procedure will therefore be followed as closely as possible. There will be a young, impartial person chosen as the Speaker, and young people will be chosen as the Prime Minister and Ministers in charge of the various departments. The main difference in procedure will be that the Youth Parliament will not be organised on a Party basis—that is to say, there will be no Government and no organised Opposition, but free discussion on all the problems.

In addition to the support already received from the youth and student organisations, a number of eminent people have consented to become Patrons of the Youth Parliament. They are headed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and include the Chief Rabbi, Lord Cecil, Lord Lytton, Lord Sankey, Dame Katharine Furse, Dr. Gilbert Murray, the Bishop of London, Sir Walter Layton and Sir Norman Angell. There is also a large measure of support from schools and clubs and from individuals in no organisation at all.

The value of the Parliament in providing a common platform on which youth of all opinions can meet to discuss their common problems and try to arrive at some practical solution is clear. Such an event must play a vital part in the fight for the defence and extension of democracy, and will be an immense step forward in uniting the youth, behind their ideals, for a programme of peace, liberty and social advance.

## Mexican Youth Unification Congress Called

Mexico City.

It has been announced here by the Youth Sector of the Mexican Revolutionary Party that a national youth unification congress will take place on March 18 to 22, 1939, in this city. All national and State youth federations have been invited.

The invitation to the congress, after pointing out the necessity of unity against the fascist danger, calls "to the Mexican youth to organise and unite in order to forge their own lives; to ennoble their existence through sports, education and civic activities."

The congress will create the *Confederation of Revolutionary Youth* affiliated to the Mexican Revolutionary Party. The appeal is signed by the outstanding youth leaders of the country.

\* Among the recent anti-Semitic measures adopted in Germany is the decision of the president of the National Socialist Students that all Jewish students and intellectuals who received scholarships or grants before the National Socialists came to power, have to return the total sum they have received within a fortnight. Police measures will be taken against those who refuse to comply with this order.

## Youth and Economic Life

### Unemployed Youth in the United States

FOUR and one-third million youth between the ages of 16 and 24 in the United States are wholly unemployed, according to a report just prepared for the Director of the *American Youth Commission* by *D. L. Harley*, of the Commission's research staff. Of these youth, over half a million are engaged in emergency work of some kind, while the remainder have no work at all but want it.

In addition, there are a million and a-half youth who have some employment of a non-emergency character but desire more. These youth may be described as part-time unemployed, and adding their numbers to those of the wholly unemployed youth (including emergency workers) gives a total of nearly six million youth either completely or partly unemployed.

A significant fact is that only a small proportion—13 per cent.—of the youth who have no work at all are not actively seeking work. The remaining 87 per cent., plus emergency workers, constitute 31 per cent. of all youth who are available for employment.

This is the measure of present unemployment among employable youth. In the lower part of the age group 16-24, it is much higher. At the age of 18 it is 42 per cent.; at 17, 47 per cent.; at 16, 50 per cent.

Three-fifths of unemployed youth are boys and two-fifths girls. These are about the same proportions which boys and girls constitute of all employable youth, so that at present the degree of unemployment appears to be about equal for either sex.

There is evidence suggesting that in times of severe depression girls have somewhat more success in finding jobs than boys, while in good times boys have a slight advantage.

The report to the Director also estimates the categories of youth who are not available for employment. These constitute roughly two-fifths of all youth between the ages of 16 and 24. They consist of four and three-quarters million youth who are in school; two and three-quarters million youth who are home-makers; a half million youth who are unemployed, wanting work, but not actively seeking it; and an additional half million described as "Others" and consisting largely of unpaid family workers plus those not physically able to work.

These data were assembled from a variety of sources, chief of which was the Unemployment Census of November, 1937.

Although this Census was taken a year ago, it is believed that its findings hardly represent an overstatement of unemployment among youth to-day. The business recession of 1937-38 was then still in its early stages, and the recovery of recent months is not thought to have taken us back to conditions better than those which prevailed then.

The Unemployment Census, which was conducted by mail, was supplemented and corrected by an Enumerative Check consisting of personal visitations of over half a million families in all parts of the country.

More than 300,000 youth between the ages of 16 and 24 were included in this Check, which thus ranks as one of the largest surveys ever made of a representative sample of the youth population.

### Dutch Federation of Youth in the Struggle for Youth Demands

By H. J. A.

IN the "land flowing with milk and honey," as Holland is often called, the recent years of crisis have had disastrous effects upon the Youth, so that this designation sounds like a bitter irony.

Certainly there is plenty of milk, butter, cheese and honey in Holland, but not for the Youth. The reports of the school doctors clearly reveal an appalling undernourishment of the children. It has been established that in particular the children of the unemployed are less capable of learning than the other children.

The disastrous effects of undernourishment during childhood are shown by the fact that 40 per cent. of the recruits liable for compulsory military service have to be rejected as unfit. The

newspapers seek to attribute this to the fact that the Youth do not go in for enough sport. But do these newspapers urge the Government to adopt measures in order to promote sport? By no means. They wish to leave this to the private initiative. The Youth of Holland is fond of sport; it is well represented in all kinds of sport activities. Owing, however, to undernourishment, sport cannot improve the physique of the Youth. Moreover, the workers' children have no money to pay contributions to sports clubs, sports dress and sport accessories.

But Holland needs a strong Youth, a physically and morally strong Youth in order to defend its independence against fascism. Hence care for the physical and mental well-being of Youth is a matter which concerns the Government and should not be left to private individuals.

The Government, however, is not concerned about the fate of Youth. At the Youth Congress, held in January by the A.J.C. (Labour Youth Central) of the Youth of the trade unions, sports organisations and social democratic Youth Leagues, it was established that there are 100,000 young persons unemployed in Holland. As 50 per cent. of the young unemployed under 21 years of age are not registered at the Labour Exchanges, it may be assumed that about 130,000 young unemployed do not receive a penny unemployment benefit. Every year these 130,000 young unemployed are comforted by the ever-recurring phrase in the speech by the Queen on the opening of Parliament, that "attention will be paid to the problem of young unemployed."

*Romme*, Minister for Social Affairs, instead of seeking a solution to the problem in providing work and granting unemployment relief for the young unemployed, is drawing up plans according to the model of the Nazis. He wants to introduce in Holland the labour service, into which the young unemployed are to be forced by a "slight form of compulsion." Thus the measures adopted by the Government in regard to the Youth smack rather of the barrack system into which the German Youth has been forced.

The Minister further plans the introduction of a labour book, in which will be recorded the whole behaviour of the young worker. No worker will be able to get any work whatever without this labour book.

The Dutch Federation of Youth (N.J.F.) has addressed a memorandum to the Minister, sharply criticising the introduction of the labour book and of the labour service. It proposed, on the other hand, that the school age be extended to 15 years, and the time for apprenticeship be extended and, where necessary, financial aid be granted to necessitous families. In order to back up the petition and the demands in the interests of youth contained in it, the N.J.F. organised a so-called "Day of Youth" in ten towns, which was attended by 6,000 young workers. Dutch Youth demonstrated at mass meetings its desire to fight for its interests, against fascism and for united Youth assistance to the heroic Spanish people.

### An Enquiry into Youth Conditions

By Cecil Thomson (London)

A NATIONAL Enquiry into Youth Conditions is at present proceeding in London.

*Mr. Comyns Carr, K.C.*, in opening the first session, said that the terms of reference were:

"To consider the twelve points of the Charter drawn up by the *British Youth Peace Assembly*, to take evidence on its adequacy to meet the situation, to advise on what steps should be taken to secure such legislation as we consider necessary to remove the obstacles in its way. The subjects which we are considering necessarily have a political aspect and naturally witness in dealing with them will be to some extent guided by their personal political views, but we do not think this ought to be made an occasion for publicising or advertising the political theories and philosophy of any particular party."

Reports have been presented from practically every main social, religious, and political point of view. The reports were not presented in any party spirit but were presented by people and organisations all of whom were concerned about the well-being and future of the young people. All were presented for different reasons and from different angles, but at the same time practically every one of them agreed that youth themselves, and all progressive people and organisations must come together

in a big effort to advance the social conditions of the young people.

Up to the present reports have been presented by the following national organisations. The Youth Charter Group of the British Youth Peace Assembly, who took the initiative in organising the enquiry; the League of Nations Youth Committee on the I.L.O. and Social Legislation in Britain; the National Council of Girls' Clubs on Clerical Work; the National Federation of Building Trade Operatives, presented by the general secretary, Mr. R. Coppock; the National League of Young Liberals on Agriculture; the National Union of Students on (a) Graduate Employment, and (b) Student Conditions, Grants and Scholarships; the Student Christian Movement on Training Colleges; the National Society of Art Masters; the London Association of Labour Teachers; the Borstal Association, presented by Mr. H. Scott; and the National Police Court Mission, presented by the Rev. John Langton Durham.

Reports were presented on Youth Unemployment and on the social consequences of unemployment. A variety of people and organisations presented reports on a large number of other problems. These included a report from the National Union of Clerks Youth Committee on conditions of work among young clerical workers, the trade union youth committees of the clothing workers, upholsterers, sign and ticket writers, engineers, and the jute industry.

A comprehensive memorandum was submitted by the Young Communist League to show the nature of the Youth Labour Problem in Britain to-day, and the future prospects of youth labour with special reference to trade training. This report was presented to the Commission by John Gollan, secretary of the Young Communist League. The committee which organised the Hearing issued 25,000 Questionnaires, and a report will be made on the questionnaires which have been completed and returned by the famous statisticians Kuczynski and Forrester.

The Hearing into Youth Conditions represents an important step forward in bringing together all those forces interested and concerned about the present conditions and future well-being of the young people, and the final report which will be issued by the Commission on the basis of the evidence and the recommendations made by the Commission should provide the basis for a new and greater effort to arouse the youth and to win new forces to their side in the fight for social justice.

## Fascism and Youth

### Growing Criminality of German Youth

By Peter Toenning

REPORTS in the Nazi press and the official statistics show that German youth is sinking into criminality to an unprecedented extent. There cannot be the slightest doubt that the chief cause of this, apart from the catastrophic worsening of the economic position, is the National Socialist method of education. This leads youth directly and indirectly onto the path of every form of crime.

To-day there are in Germany almost nine million young people between the ages of 10 and 18 who are members of the Hitler Youth. Under compulsion! The law of December 1, 1936, forces every youth to join the Hitler Youth. And from their 6th year onwards the children are to a great extent removed from the influence of their parents. Soon they are given the "dagger of honour," which has already caused so much harm among the boys. From their 10th to 14th years the boys enrol in the "Young Folk," from 14 to 18 they are members of the Hitler Youth, from 18 to 21 they are in labour camps or the army. Secretary of State, Dr. Freisler, stated recently in the official gazette of the Reich Ministry of Justice that youths failing to take part in the educational community of the Hitler Youth will not merely be placed in a public institution, but are to become liable to a Youth Detention, corresponding to the Protective Detention (permanent internment) of adults.

Training in the Hitler Youth means preparation for military service. Violence is glorified, contempt is thrown on all cultural and intellectual activity, opposition declared against every humanist and progressive tendency. School children learn to shoot, teachers superintend. In the spring of 1939 the Reich

shooting contests of the Hitler Youth will be supplemented for the first time by the Reich shooting contests of the German Young Folk, participated in by more than 9,000 children between the ages of 10 to 14.

In the Hitler Youth the children are told tales of the "fight-meetings." The murderers of Dollfuss and Rathenau are celebrated as "national heroes." During the anti-Jewish pogroms closed ranks from one Jewish shop to another, to complete "spontaneously" the work of destruction commenced in the night by Storm Troopers acting under command. It should not be forgotten that in many towns Hitler Youths refused to obey their superiors and did not appear at the rallying points during the pogroms. The official drive against the Church is leading to such incidents as that in Borbeck, where the Hitler Youth stole a cross from a Catholic church, broke it and threw it into a ditch. The indignation of the religious population may be imagined.

The effects of such an "education" cannot but be disastrous. Let official figures speak. The above-mentioned Herr Freisler made the following statement in a lecture on "Youth and Penal Law," given in the post-graduate course for public prosecutors and judges at the end of September, 1938:—

"The number of sentences passed fell from 21,529 in 1932 to 12,294 in 1934, rose in 1936 to 16,885 and in 1937 to 24,519, or 3,000 more than in 1932."

Youth criminality was thus doubled between 1934 and 1937, and increased by 50 per cent. from 1936 to 1937 alone. And these are the official figures, which do not by any means express the whole frightful truth.

The youth of the "Third Reich" begin their path into crime by acts of violence, shooting, stabbing, theft, assaults and robbery, offences against morality, and end in the typical gangster methods and murders. A few characteristic examples from the abundant material. The *Völkischer Beobachter*, December 16, published a report from the Munich Juvenile Court, under the title: "Boys Destroy Playfellow's Eyesight." Eight boys, apprentices, had a tear gas pistol each. They played "war," and one of the boys shot directly into the eyes of another quite close to him, blinding him permanently. Another typical case was reported in the Vienna *Reichspost* shortly before the Nazi march into Austria. Two young men were tried before the Innsbrück court for murdering a 17-year-old girl. The youths had fired two shots at the girl, and she died from internal bleeding. One of the accused youths, Polz, stated, under examination, that he had been a member of the Hitler Youth in Germany, and had returned later to Austria in response to his mother's request. The presiding judge asked him:

"What made you think of doing such a thing?"

Polz replied: "It was the Hitler Youth. At the military lectures and sharp-shooting practices the leaders always told us: 'Shooting at people is just the same as shooting at a target. You have to keep just as calm.'"

Polz had received military training in a Storm Troop camp in Bremerhaven. He was orderly in the service of Battalion Leader Smrcek. This Smrcek shot a Black Guard man in Polz's presence. From here he was sent to the Hitler Youth leaders' school at Kulmühl. Here he saw an Austrian fellow trooper drowned because the others would not spoil their uniforms on his account. After this he was in the Hitler Youth home in Goettingen with one hundred youths and twenty girls. Here moral conditions were such that every fifth inmate of the home had venereal disease.

During the week of the anti-Jewish pogroms, the German press reports of gangster crimes and murders, including the following: On November 12, Hans Hahn, 19 years of age, murdered a taxi driver named Taubel, from Lichtenberg. Hahn was sentenced to death, and executed on November 24. Two youths, one 20 and the other only 13 years of age, were arrested as murderers and motor-car bandits. They had placed obstacles on high roads in Carinthia and Styria, stopping cars, and had shot two motorists.

Innumerable such examples could be quoted. The official *Statistic Annual for the German Reich* (1937) shows that the number of young people between the ages of 14 and 18 sentenced for manslaughter through negligence increased by 260 per cent. in 1936 in comparison with 1934, for assaults endangering life by

63.8 per cent., for grave assaults by 133 per cent., for simple theft by 28.6 per cent., for felonious theft by 39 per cent., blackmail 69 per cent., fraud 44.5 per cent., damage to property 56.5 per cent., deliberate arson 72.4 per cent., negligent arson 68 per cent., offences against the protection of animals 131 per cent. These figures are staggering enough, but according to Freisler's data the rate of criminality increased even more rapidly in 1937/38.

Another very sad chapter is the moral degeneration of German youth as result of their war education. The girls sent out on land service are in danger of becoming victims of the lustful desires of the Storm Troop leaders, and are frequently pregnant when they return to their parents. In the League of German Girls they are "educated in motherhood." They are taught that it is a betrayal of the Nordic race, and therewith of the Fatherland if they marry a man of alien race. They are told that the Fatherland needs soldiers that it may become great and powerful. Their duty as "German mother" is not fulfilled by having one or two children; no, there must be four. It is impressed on them from their earliest youth that it is no disgrace to bear an illegitimate child. The manner in which they are told this even encourages the idea.

The result of these influences on young people is an unceasing series of scandals among the Hitler Youth. Last year no fewer than nine members of the League of German Girls in Essen became pregnant. A number of the leading officials of the Hitler Youth had exploited their unlimited powers for the organisation of orgies. Three girls only 13 years of age, were made pregnant in Emden recently. Some of these cases have been treated in Oldenburg hospital. Of about 30 young people involved in this affair, five secondary school students, among them the Hitler Youth leader and a grammar school student, were suspended from their schools. The Catholic newspaper *Der deutsche Weg*, July 24, 1938, stated that the former central jail in Bochum has had to be converted into a prison for juvenile offenders, and that at the present time there are over 800 youths under 18 years of age in this prison, all of them Hitler Youths, and all serving sentences for immoral offences. In Cologne a girl, only 15 years of age, bore triplets. The father, with whom she had become acquainted at a joint gala of the Hitler Youth and the army, could not be found. In another Rhenish town four "Young Girls" gave birth to children on the same day. One of these girls, 14 years of age, replied to her indignant father by telling him not to speak in such a tone to "a German mother."

The *Statistic Annual* shows that the number of young people between the ages of 14-18 sentenced for "crimes and immoral offences" had increased by 88 per cent. by 1936 as compared with 1934. Sentences for immoral relations with persons under 14 years of age increased by 59.4 per cent., for rape by 142.4 per cent. The sentences passed on young people for unnatural offences, homo-sexuality, increased by almost 300 per cent. The danger threatening Hitler Youth in this respect is proverbial among the population. A few weeks ago, the leaders of the Hitler Youth endeavoured to allay the misgivings of parents by issuing an official decree stating that youths joining the Hitler Youth were now to sign an undertaking that their attention had been drawn to the fact that homo-sexual activities are to be punished. Hence in the future no one can have the excuse of not knowing beforehand that such actions are punishable.

It is true that Hitler fascism is training German Youth as cannon fodder and slaves, that it drags them into moral degeneration, that it degrades them as youth has never yet been degraded. But it is true, too, that the sound core of the youth of Germany protests against the degradation imposed on it by fascism. One thing is certain: when the hour of reckoning strikes for the guilt-laden Hitler regime, the decisive element of German Youth will be ready to play its part.

\* The Nazis are compelled to admit the catastrophic decline of education. The Minister for Education in Saxony issued a decree to remedy this evil: "The Commission of Inspection and Education," states the decree, "is aware that for some years the low level of knowledge in all the spheres of instruction is due to two causes: first of all, the leisure hours of the children are too much absorbed by extra-school affairs; in addition, a great number of pupils have been exempted from school attendance owing to extra-school affairs, without account being taken of the educational needs of the children."

## Learn and Comprehend

### A Guide to the Study of Marx's "Capital"

By J. Alpari

#### 3. ANALYSIS OF SOCIETY BASED ON COMMODITY PRODUCTION, AND NOT ONLY OF THIS SOCIETY

WITH the money-form Marx concludes his elaboration of the form of value. He adds, however, a section on the Fetishism of Commodities and the Secret Thereof. The contents of this section form the actual crowning of the work.

Marx deals here once again with the form of value. This time, however, he proceeds not from the cell form of society, the commodity, but from society itself. There is no doubt that, with a developed division of labour, men do in some way work for each other. The labour therefore possesses a social form. What, however, is the nature of this form? That is all according. Commodity production is an *indirect* socialised form of labour. A society of commodity producers does not determine beforehand who shall work, what work shall be done and how much. (We are speaking here of society, of the total requirements of society and not of the workshop.) Division of labour is regulated afterwards, so to speak—actually by the market. Every product of labour must here prove to be a constituent part of the total social labour. Only as constituent part of the total social labour does it possess any value, and only as much value as the socially necessary labour contained in it. The products of human labour appear here to become independent things. Commodities confront commodities. In reality, however, it is men who, both in production and on the market, come into contact with one another. Value is a relation between two persons—a relation hidden behind *physical objects*.

Where, on the other hand, there is *directly* associated labour, as in the example given in the first of these articles among the Servian Zadrougas, where labour is divided beforehand, where each member of this production community knows what and how much he must produce, and the products of labour are simply distributed, there the products of labour do not assume the form of commodities, do not confront each other independently. The relation of the producers to their products is immediate and not concealed by a physical wrapping. Here the social character of labour does not acquire an objective appearance.

In commodity production the social relation of the producers to the sum total of labour appears as a social relation of objects existing outside of them.

"The existence of things *qua* commodities, and the value relation between the products of labour which stamps them as commodities, have absolutely no connection with their physical properties and with the material relations arising therefrom. There is a definite social relation between men, that assumes, in their eyes, the fantastic form of a relation between things. In order, therefore, to find an analogy, we must have recourse to the mist-enveloped regions of the religious world. In that world the productions of the human brain appear as independent beings endowed with life, and entering into relation with one another and the human race. So it is in the world of commodities with the products of men's hands. This I call the Fetishism which attaches itself to the products of labour, as soon as they are produced as commodities, and which is therefore inseparable from the production of commodities."

Marx calls this Fetishism also mystification, which reaches its highest point in interest-bearing capital. Money simply yields interest with which the possessor can obtain the most varied products without his having to move a finger.

"As interest-bearing capital," writes Marx in the third volume of *Capital*, "that is in its immediate form as interest-bearing money capital, capital acquires its pure fetish form. In this form as money-capital, it appears just as much a property of capital to produce interest as it is for trees to grow."

The section on the Fetishism of Commodities, as we have already said, constitutes the actual crowning of the brilliant presentation of the form of value. In addition, however, it throws a flood of new light on the connections of human society,

its relation to labour in general, to religion, on the relation of religion to the various economic forms, and also on historical materialism; provides a brief but trenchant criticism of classical economy; smashes vulgar economy together with Proudhonism. The vulgarisers have never known what to make of this magnificent achievement. These arguments have caused them the greatest embarrassment. Kautsky stammers out a few confused words on them, while Borchart's vulgarisation of Capital—to use a mild expression—contains not a single word about them. In Borchart's work one can seek in vain for any mention of the words fetishism of commodities, or fetishism of capital. The understanding of this section is a test. He who understands this section need not fear that the study of Capital will offer him any serious difficulties.

The section dealing with the fetishism of commodities concludes the first chapter of *Capital*, which demands the greatest diligence and perseverance on the part of the student.

As we wished to give only a *guide* to the study of *Capital*, we could very well break off here. Indeed, in what follows we intend to refrain from giving a systematic elaboration of the contents and confine ourselves to a few references.

The general presentation of the process of exchange, which forms the contents of the second chapter, deals mainly with the transformation of commodities into money, within the framework of a further analysis of a society of commodity producers, which in the course of its development must arrive at the money form. In money the social relation of producers to one another appears stripped more bare than in commodities.

The third chapter is devoted to the circulation of commodities, to the metamorphosis of commodity into money and of money into commodity. We become acquainted with the formula: C—M—C. Here Marx reveals in particular his art of exposition, already referred to in terms of praise by his first Russian critic: "The presentation of the subject invests the driest economic questions with a certain peculiar charm."

Marx deals with one of the most prosaic occurrences in business: sale and purchase. Nevertheless, he speaks not unrightly of "dramatis personæ," as the acting persons in sale and purchase. Everything is alive, everything is in motion here. "The complete metamorphosis of a commodity, in its simplest form, implies four extremes, and three dramatis personæ." In what antagonistic transactions these simple processes take place until the circuit is complete: Commodity form, stripping off of the commodity form, return to the commodity form—this one must read in *Capital*. Meanwhile, we will quote here the brilliant passage which shows the dialectical antagonisms in the simple formula of C—M—C. Marx writes:

"Circulation bursts through all restrictions as to time, place and individuals, imposed by direct barter, and this it effects by splitting up, into the antithesis of a sale and purchase, the direct identity that in barter does exist between the alienation of one's own and the acquisition of some other man's product. To say that these two independent and antithetical acts have an intrinsic unity, are essentially one, is the same as to say that this intrinsic oneness expresses itself in an external antithesis. If the interval in time between the two complementary phases of the complete metamorphosis of a commodity becomes too great, if the split between the sale and the purchase becomes too pronounced, the intimate connection between them, their oneness, asserts itself by producing—a crisis."

Truly we have here a splendid example of the identity of opposites.

How simply the same line of thought is expressed in the French edition. The same passage here reads as follows:

"La circulation fait sauter les barrières par lesquelles le temps, l'espace et les relations d'individu à individu retrécissent le troc des produits. Mais comment? Dans le commerce en troc, personne ne peut aliéner son produit sans que simultanément une autre personne aliène le sien. L'identité immédiate de ces deux actes, la circulation la scinde en y introduisant l'antithèse de la vente et de l'achat. Après avoir vendu, je ne suis forcé d'acheter ni au même lieu ni au même temps, ni de la même personne à laquelle j'ai vendu. Il est vrai que l'achat est

le complément obligé de la vente, mais il n'est pas moins vrai que leur unité est l'unité de contraires. Si la séparation des deux phases complémentaires l'une de l'autre de la métamorphose des marchandises se prolonge, si la scission entre le vente et l'achat s'accentue, leur liaison intime s'affirme—par une *crise*."

("The circulation of goods leaps the barriers by which time, space and relations between individuals restrict the exchange of products. But how? In barter nobody can dispose of his product without at the same time another person disposing of his product. The immediate identity of these two acts is split by circulation, in that it introduces the antithesis of sale and purchase. After having sold a commodity I am not bound to purchase something either in the same place or at the same time, nor from the same person to whom I have sold it. It is true, that purchase is the necessary complement of sale, but it is no less true that their unity is the unity of contradictions. If the separation of the one from the other of the two complementary phases of the metamorphosis of commodities is prolonged, if the division between the sale and purchase is accentuated, then their intimate connection is affirmed—by a crisis.")

Marx deals again with the chief functions which money performs in the process of circulation, and then proceeds to the main subject of his work: the metamorphosis of money into capital.

From this point the study of *Capital* no longer offers any difficulties. One partakes of the richest and most enjoyable instruction without really strenuous work.

\* \* \* \* \*

*Capital* contains a complete presentation of capitalist society, the exploitation of labour power by the production of surplus value, accumulation of capital etc., etc. It shows, as Lenin said, the development (growth and also movement) of these contradictions and of this society, in the sum of its fundamental constituent parts, from its beginning to its end. The broad framework in which this presentation is given, and the way in which Marx carries it out, makes this work a real encyclopædia.

Equipped with the last word in the knowledge of his day, endowed with unsurpassed acumen, Marx does not pass over any of the questions of the time, but deals with each of them. Political economy, economic history, early history, antiquity, philosophy, and, as already mentioned, dialectical and historical materialism, technology, agronomy, chemistry—all this is dealt with either in detail or in a few brief remarks, which, however, shed more light than many thick volumes might do.

There pass before us the masters of thought from all times: Heraclitus, Aristotle, Plato, Descartes, Spinoza, Leibnitz, Kant, Hegel, Feuerbach the great masters of poetic art, Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, Goethe, Heine, but above all, however, the founders of political economy, the physicists and classic writers, Quesnay, Turgot, William Petty, Smith, Ricardo, but also their disciples and vulgarisers, who here receive their *coup de grâce*. *Capital* also brings before us the great Utopians: Fourier, Saint-Simon, Owen, as well as the petty bourgeois Utopian Proudhon. The chief scenes of *Capital* are laid in England, the country which at that time dominated the world market. But its actual scene is the whole world: The United States, Canada, South America, Germany, Russia, Turkey, the Balkans, Egypt, India, China. Small countries are also dealt with in detail, as for instance, Ireland, which shows what importance Marx attached to national oppression.

Thus *Capital* is not only the standard work on political economy, but is at the same time a work embracing all knowledge.

*Capital* is above all a sharp weapon in the fight of the workers for better conditions, for their emancipation, but it is free from all one-sided exaggeration. One remembers Paul Lafargue's book "*My Right to be Lazy*." In his endeavour to castigate exploitation in the sharpest possible manner, he denounced work in general and condemned it, as did the early Christians (curse of work) and the ancients (unworthy of a free man). Marx, however, was not misled by the temporary enslavement of labour. He makes a sharp distinction between the labour-process and the process of realisation, and offers a

wonderful characterisation of labour apart from its definite social form. Marx writes:

"Labour is, in the first place, a process in which both man and Nature participate, and in which man of his own accord starts, regulates, and controls the material reactions between himself and Nature. He opposes himself to Nature as one of her own forces, setting in motion arms and legs, head and hands, the natural forces of his body, in order to appropriate Nature's productions in a form adapted to his own wants. By thus acting on the external world and changing it, he at the same time changes his own nature. He develops his slumbering powers and compels them to act in obedience to his sway."

In this connection Marx elaborates a thought of Hegel's namely, that thought distinguishes man from the animal. The passage in Hegel reads:

"It cannot be called to mind too often in our days, that that which distinguishes man from the animal is thought. . . . If one, however, opposes Nature in general as the physical, to the spiritual, then one must say that the logical is rather the supernatural which permeates all the natural behaviour of man, his feelings, views, desires, requirements, urge, and thereby transforms itself in general into something human, even if only formally, to conceptions and purposes." (Hegel: "The Science of Logic.")

It is very fascinating to observe how Marx translates this thought in connection with labour into the, so to speak, purely materialistic. Following on his definition of labour which we have quoted above, Marx says:

"We are not now dealing with those primitive instinctive forms of labour that remind us of the mere animal. An immeasurable interval of time separates the state of things in which a man brings his labour-power to market for sale as a commodity, from that state in which human labour was still in its first instinctive stage. We presuppose labour in a form that stamps it as exclusively human. A spider conducts operations that resemble that of a weaver, and a bee puts to shame many an architect in the construction of her cells. But what distinguishes the worst architect from the best bees is this, that the architect raises his structure in imagination before he erects it in reality. At the end of every labour-process, we get a result that already existed in the imagination of the labourer at its commencement. He not only effects a change of form in the material on which he works, but he also realises a purpose of his own that gives the law to his *modus operandi*, and to which he must subordinate his will. And this subordination is no mere momentary act. Besides the exertion of the bodily organs, the process demands that, during the whole operation, the workman's will be steadily in consonance with his purpose. This means close attention. The less he is attracted by the nature of the work, and the mode in which it is carried on, and the less, therefore, he enjoys it as something which gives play to his bodily and mental powers, the more close his attention is forced to be."

We have here also the wonderful explanation of labour as "a play of the mental and physical powers of man"—as it is already beginning to be realised in the Soviet Union.

It should be remarked here that this is at the same time a passage which makes clear how *Capital* is a book of living importance extending far beyond capitalism.

Marx chiefly investigates a special form of social production of commodities, namely capitalism. He shows its rise and decline. At the same time, however, he gives us an insight into the laws of production in general, without regard to their particular social form. Humanity will therefore for a long time derive teaching from *Capital*, even when all traces of capitalist society have long since disappeared.

The annotations, the footnotes in *Capital* are wonderful. Here Marx accords justice to everybody who was the first to express, if only by way of suggestion and unaware of its enormous importance, a thought which Marx develops in detail and in all its connections. The notes thus form a pantheon of the thinkers of all time.

At the same time there is accorded in them a place of honour for the champions of the proletariat and also for the

factory inspectors who refused to be bribed by the manufacturers and landowners and ruthlessly exposed their shameful deeds. Marx places on a special pedestal the English scholar *Leonard Horner* who, as government factory inspector, became a self-sacrificing defender of the interests of the workers.

The Notes also provide an almost complete criticism of the whole of political economy and a thorough refutation of the vulgar economists, the professional twaddlers of the bourgeoisie.

Here Marx settles accounts with Proudhon and his exchange bank, who imagined that he had created a system which could free the independent commodity owner from dependence upon the market, from its sometimes fatal effects. In actual fact the one conditions the other, just as the positivity of the magnetic pole determines its negativity. How excellent is the following remark by Marx about Proudhon:

"Proudhon begins by taking his *ideal of justice*, of 'justice éternelle,' from the juridical relations that correspond to the production of commodities: thereby, it may be noted, he proves, to the consolation of all good citizens, that the production of commodities is a form of production as everlasting as justice. Then he turns round and seeks to reform the actual production of commodities, and the actual legal system corresponding thereto, in accordance with this ideal. What opinion should we have of a chemist, who, instead of studying the actual laws of the molecular changes in the composition and decomposition of matter, and on that foundation solving definite problems, claimed to regulate the composition and decomposition of matter by means of the 'eternal ideas,' of 'naturalité' and 'affinité'?"

This remark is one of that group of brilliant, brief statements in *Capital* which place historical materialism in a new light. It will be remembered that the Marxists of the Second International, with few exceptions, always complained that Marx left behind no special work on historical materialism. All he said on this subject, they declare, are the few lines in the preface to the *Critique of Political Economy*. They were unable to see the wood for the trees. Let us take, for instance, the following remark:

"Technology discloses man's mode of dealing with Nature, the process of production by which he sustains his life, and thereby also lays bare the mode of formation of his social relations, and of the mental conceptions that flow from them. Every history of religion even, that fails to take account of this material basis, is uncritical. It is, in reality much easier to discover by analysis the earthly core of the misty creations of religion, than, conversely, it is, to develop from the actual relations of life the corresponding celestialised forms of those relations. The latter method is the only materialistic, and therefore the only scientific one."

Is it possible even to conceive a more concise and sharper formulation of historical materialism?

We have already, in the presentation of the fetishism of commodities, quoted a profound passage from Marx on religion. As a supplement thereto, there may be quoted from the same section his discerning exposition of the persistency of religious prejudices. It reads:

"The religious reflex of the real world can, in any case, only then finally vanish, when the practical relations of everyday life offer to men none but perfectly intelligible and reasonable relations with regard to his fellow men and to Nature.

"The life-process of society, which is based on the process of material production, does not strip off its mystical veil until it is treated as production by freely associated men, and is consciously regulated by them in accordance with a settled plan. This, however, demands for society a certain material groundwork or set of conditions of existence which in their turn are the spontaneous product of a long and painful process of development."

The following part of a long footnote in the same section conveys as much as would a whole treatise on historical materialism:

"I seize this opportunity of shortly answering an objection taken by a German paper in America, to my work, *Critique of Political Economy* 1859. In the estimation of

that paper, my view that each special mode of production and the social relations corresponding to it, in short, that the economic structure of society, is the real basis on which the juridical and political superstructure is raised, and to which definite social forms of thought correspond; that the mode of production determines the character of the social, political and intellectual life generally, all this is very true for our own times, in which material interests preponderate, but not for the middle ages, in which Catholicism, nor for Athens and Rome, where politics, reigned supreme. In the first place it strikes one as an odd thing for anyone to suppose that these well-worn phrases about the middle ages and the ancient world are unknown to anyone else. This much, however, is clear, that the middle ages could not live on Catholicism, nor the ancient world on politics. On the contrary, it is the mode in which they gained a livelihood that explains why here politics, and there Catholicism, played the chief part. For the rest, it requires but a slight acquaintance with the history of the Roman Republic, for example, to be aware that its secret history is the history of its landed property. On the other hand, Don Quixote long paid the penalty for wrongly imagining that knight errantry was compatible with all economic forms of society."

These passages possess for us not only a great theoretical, but also a quite extraordinary practical importance. If fascism to-day pushes down whole peoples to the intellectual level of the old Mongolian empire of Jengiz Khan, proclaims war and robbery as the life task of humanity, at a time when, in contrast to the Asiatic desert empire of the 13th century, humanity has at its disposal means of production which, with an appropriate social organisation of society, could guarantee the whole population an abundance of everything it needs, then, from the standpoint of the general development of society, this is a far greater anachronism than the mode of life of the knight of the doleful countenance.

It is true, it is precisely Marx who, in *Capital*, reveals to us the cruelties of rising capitalism. Marx shows how capitalism oozes blood and filth from every pore.

It is obvious, that as was its birth, so also is its end. But the bloody orgies of dying capitalism are more terrible than were those of rising capitalism. Nevertheless, they are the bloody orgies of dying capitalism.

We wish, finally, to quote at length the classic passage on the dialectic contradictions in the whole development of capitalism which leads to the "expropriation of the expropriators."

At the end of the celebrated chapter on primitive accumulation, Marx describes in compact sentences the transformation of the property of the immediate producers (peasants, artisans) into capitalist private property, and then continues:

"The expropriation of the immediate producers was accomplished with merciless Vandalism, and under the stimulus of passions the most infamous, the most sordid, the pettiest, the most meanly odious. *Self-earned private property*, that is based, so to say, on the fusing together of the isolated, independent *labouring individual with the conditions of his labour*, is supplanted by *capitalistic private property*, which rests on exploitation of the nominally free labour of others, i.e., on wage-labour.

"As soon as this process of transformation has sufficiently decomposed the old society from top to bottom, as soon as the labourers are turned into proletarians, their means of labour into capital, as soon as the capitalist mode of production stands on its own feet, then the further socialisation of labour and further transformation of the land and other means of production into socially exploited and, therefore, common means of production, as well as the further expropriation of private proprietors, takes a new form. That which is now to be expropriated is no longer the labourer working for himself, but the capitalist exploiting many labourers.

"This expropriation is accomplished by the action of the imminent laws of *capitalistic production itself*, by the centralisation of capital. One capitalist always kills many. Hand in hand with this centralisation, or this expropriation of many capitalists by few, develop, on an ever extending

scale, the co-operative form of the labour process, the conscious technical application of science, the methodical cultivation of the soil, the transformation of the instruments of labour into instruments of labour only usable in common, the economising of all means of production by their use as entanglement of all peoples in the net of the world market, and with this the international character of the number of the magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolise all advantages of this process of transformation, grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this too grows the revolt of the working class, a class always increasing in numbers, and process of capitalist production itself. The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and flourished along with, and under it. Centralisation of the means of production and socialisation of labour at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. *The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated.*

"The capitalist mode of appropriation, the result of the capitalist mode of production, produces capitalist private property. This is the first negation of individual private property, as founded on the labour of the proprietor. But capitalist production begets, with the inexorability of a law of Nature, its own negation. It is the negation of negation. This does not re-establish private property for the producer, but gives him individual property based on the acquisitions of the capitalist era: i.e., on co-operation and the possession in common of the land and of the means of production."

There is no passage in Marxist literature where the dialectical presentation of the great historical process is handled in such a masterly manner.

That in the tremendous historical development we are experiencing, the negation of negation, the third stage of the dialectical formula, has already become a world-historical reality, for this mankind has, in the first place, to thank Comrades Lenin and Stalin, the two most gifted disciples of Marx and Engels, the only ones who further developed Marxist theory and enriched it by new experience under the new conditions of the class struggle of the proletariat.

## Lenin and the International Labour Movement

By D. Manuilsky

We reprint below the most important passages from an article published by Comrade D. Manuilsky on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the death of Lenin, dealing with the problems of the dictatorship of the proletariat:

THE main thing in Leninism is "the problem of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the conditions of winning, of the conditions of strengthening it." (Stalin). The doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the soul of Leninism. This doctrine has been tested by the experience of millions. This doctrine is now not only a revolutionary theory, it is a living reality. It is expressed in the mighty Socialist State, it is materially embodied in the tremendous victories of the Socialist Revolution. Lenin's doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat has now been developed and enriched by Comrade Stalin on the basis of the great experience—summarised by theoretical thought—of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R.

Lenin's tremendous service to the world Labour movement lies in the fact that he restored and upheld Marx's doctrine, which had been distorted and discarded by the opportunists of the Second International; in the fact that he developed it further, transforming it into an harmonious theory of the proletarian revolution in the new conditions of the class struggle.

For the workers of the capitalist countries who are still on the road to the overthrow of Capitalism, the Leninist-Stalinist doctrine of the proletarian dictatorship is of decisive significance. Lenin was right a thousand times over in mercilessly trouncing and exposing all varieties of opportunists who, on the pretext that no clause regarding the dictatorship of the

proletariat was included in the programme of the majority of the European Social Democratic Parties, wanted to throw overboard the very idea of proletarian dictatorship. Lenin was right a thousand times over in incessantly castigating the opportunists and centrists who, at the moment when the Socialist Revolution was growing in Europe, under the guise of defending bourgeois democracy, conducted a struggle against the proletarian revolution and saved Capitalism from destruction.

Had the workers of the most important capitalist countries in 1918-1920 followed the path of the Soviet proletariat, had they not allowed themselves to be duped by the Kautskys, Otto Bauers and MacDonalds who persuaded the workers of their countries not to overthrow Capitalism but to follow the path of bourgeois democracy so as to achieve reforms, the world would have looked different now. There would not to-day be a sanguinary fascist dictatorship either in Germany or in Italy, a second imperialist war would not now be raging, we would not now be witnessing the brigandage of the fascist interventionists in Spain, the outrages of the Japanese fascist militarists in China, the enslavement of Austria and the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia. *Socialism would have been the prevalent system over the greater part of the globe.*

The Kautskys, Bauers and MacDonalds sought to scare the workers with the fact that the proletarian revolution is accompanied by difficulties and privations. But can one compare these difficulties and privations with the horrible calamities inflicted on mankind by dying Capitalism? What endless suffering and sacrifice was inflicted on the proletariat even by the world economic crisis of 1929, not to speak of the new crisis that has begun! And what agonies of whiteguard terror is Fascism to-day inflicting on the masses of the people in the Sudetenland, Austria, in the Spanish territory occupied by the interventionists, in Germany, Italy, Japan!

The Kautskys, Bauers, MacDonalds, asserted that they were defending bourgeois democracy, but by the whole of their ruinous policy of retreat before Fascism they prepared its downfall. In the Soviet Union, on the other hand, which followed the path of Lenin-Stalin, the path of the proletarian revolution, a nation-wide socialist democracy flourishes, a democracy such as has never yet existed in history.

The victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat would have been impossible without the establishment of a new type of working class party. A party, free of opportunism, irreconcilable towards conciliators and capitulators, revolutionary in relation to the bourgeoisie. A party, capable of uniting the basic masses of the working class, of attracting to the side of the proletariat its allies. A party, capable of using the possibilities of every situation for the organisation and mobilisation of the masses, and of leading the working people to the storming of Capitalism. The establishment of such a new type of party as the Bolshevik Party—was not a "Russian," "national," affair. It was a supreme achievement of the entire international labour movement.

Fashioned, reared and steeled by Lenin and Stalin—the two giants of revolutionary thought and revolutionary deed—the Bolshevik Party is a model for the entire international Communist movement. All the Sections of the Communist International learn from it. It has elevated to tremendous heights the significance of the party of the working class as the decisive instrument in the struggle for the liberation of the common people, for the socialist revolution, in the struggle against Fascism and wars of conquest.

#### WORLD YOUTH CONGRESS CONVOVES INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

A Conference called by the *World Youth Congress Movement* is to take place on March 11 and 12 at Rheims. All international youth organisations and national organisations are to be invited to the Conference to: Exchange information on the work being done for refugees and war victims (particularly children); review the situation and the most urgent needs; discuss means of securing greater co-ordination and wider participation by young people in relief measures. The Conference will be divided into three Commissions: Assistance to civilian war victims in Spain; China; and Assistance to Refugees.

## A History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

By Jean Bruhaut

A NEW history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been issued. It has been edited by a commission of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. (B) and authorised by the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. (B). Stalin himself has taken a direct part in its production. It is a work for which the Youth have been waiting a long time: its expectations will not be disappointed.

This work is of interest in the first place to that generation which was born during or after the revolution of 1917. At a time when these young people, who are still in their teens came into the world, the Soviet Union was already a powerful reality. They know nothing of the conditions under which the people of the towns and villages took power on one-sixth of the globe. And who could blame them for that?

Reading this history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the young people will learn in the first place that a people's revolution is not a miraculous act. In order to be accomplished, certain historic conditions must obtain:

"If a revolution is to take place, it is usually not sufficient that 'one does not wish to continue in the old way below,' but it is necessary that 'one is incapable above of continuing in the old way.' V. I. Lenin, *The Collapse of the Second International*, page 13.

The Youth will also learn to distrust that mechanical apathy-producing determinism, according to which one picks a revolution like ripe fruit falling from a tree. The Youth will also learn that the role which men play is decisive, provided that they are conscious of the general trend of development of society. The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the best comment, the most illuminating justification of the idea which Stalin expressed in his conversation with the well-known writer Emil Ludwig:

"Marxism, he said, in no way denies the role played by remarkable personalities, or the fact that men make history. In the *Poverty of Philosophy* and other works of Marx you will find confirmation that it is precisely men who make history. But, one must understand that men do not make history according to fantastic ideas which come into their heads. . . . Men make history only as far as they understand correctly the conditions which they found existing and to the extent they know how to modify these conditions."

This was and still is the great merit of the Bolsheviks. This is the reason why their history contains for all, and in particular for the Youth, such valuable lessons. From a study of the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union the Youth will learn in the first place the details of the preparation and results of the revolution of October, 1917.

But that is not all. The Bolshevik Party is a living party, connected by various channels with the people. What we are being given is a living history of a living party. In these circumstances dry schematism would be an injustice. The authors of the new History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, for example, do not conceal any of the setbacks suffered by the proletariat. They call to mind the revolution of 1905, and the causes of its defeat. They remind us of the difficult days after the October insurrection, the first successes of the counter-revolutionary intervention, the signing of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty. Let the Youth ponder these lessons! The history of progressive movements is not a mere record of successes. There are always ups and downs. In studying the example of the Bolsheviks the Youth will seek to avoid two equally serious dangers: intoxication following a victory, and despair following a defeat.

In this History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union there is no separation made between the history of the Party and the study of Marxism-Leninism. This is due to the advice given by Stalin himself to the editors of the book. A study of the book provides one with an answer to two questions which the Youth are rightly asking: Wherein lies the power of the

Bolshevik Party? The answer is, in the doctrine which inspires it, in Marxism-Leninism:

"Only a Party which has mastered the Marxist-Leninist theory can confidently advance and lead the working class forward."\*

The struggle of the Bolsheviks against the theoretical deviations become quite clear:

"The Bolshevik Party grew and gained strength in a fight over fundamental principles waged against the petty-bourgeois parties within the working-class movement—the socialist revolutionaries (and earlier still against their predecessors, the Narodniks), the Mensheviks, Anarchists and bourgeois nationalists of all shades—and within the Party itself, against the Menshevik, opportunist trends—the Trotskyites, Bukharinists, nationalist deviators and other anti-Leninist groups."†

What then, ask the Youth, is this Marxism-Leninism? It is neither a collection of dogmas, nor a catechism nor a credo. To represent it as such is to distort it completely, to deceive the Youth. The study of the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union leads one to the following conclusions:

1. In this party there existed no division between theory and practice, between doctrine and action. A whole chapter of the book is devoted to the explanation of dialectical and historical materialism. Dialectical materialism is the modern and scientific conception of the world. And

"If the passing of slow quantitative changes into rapid and abrupt qualitative changes is a law of development, then it is clear that revolutions made by oppressed classes are a quite natural and inevitable phenomenon."‡

Historical materialism is the application of dialectics to the study of the evolution of human society. It is impossible to give a dialectical explanation of the world and at the same time to reject its application in history. It is impossible to give a dialectical explanation of history and not be a revolutionary, because:

"If development proceeds by way of the disclosure of internal contradictions, by way of collisions between opposite forces on the basis of these contradictions and so as to overcome these contradictions, then it is clear that the class struggle of the proletariat is a quite natural and inevitable phenomenon."§

Everything is connected. A work which seems to have a purely philosophic character like Lenin's *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, is in reality an exposé of the theoretical basis of the Bolshevik Party.

2. Marxism-Leninism is a science. What does science do? It progresses: And how? By means of discoveries and experience. If the scholars had not shaken the dust from the old formulas, we would perhaps to-day still think that the earth is flat and that the stars are fixed into the firmament like the lights in a chandelier. Marxism-Leninism also advances like any other science, i.e., on the basis of experience, and as it is a question of human science, on the basis of human experience. Does anybody know of a richer experience than that which the Bolshevik Party has accumulated? Hence it is not at all surprising that Marxism has advanced simultaneously with the Bolshevik Party. It is not surprising that it has been enriched by Lenin and Stalin, who with the aid of dialectical materialism, have given to Marxism the theory of the alliance of the working class with the middle classes, of the unequal development of Capitalism and the possibility of the victory of Socialism in one country.

The Youth of the Soviet Union, all those who did not experience tsarist exploitation, are reading this History of the Communist Party with enthusiasm. They derive from this study new, fresh reasons for attachment and devotion to their country and to the Party which has rendered their country so great. The youth of the capitalist countries, too, are roused to enthusiasm by this book. They learn from it. They will fight with greater enthusiasm, with greater understanding and more scientifically for Communism, which enables them to face their future with calm serenity and sure confidence.

## Sports Movement

### The 1940 Olympic Games

By Auguste Delaune

ANCIENT Greece, with its cult of beauty and physical strength, held every four years—this period being termed an "Olympiad"—the *Olympic Games* at which vigour, skill, strength and swiftness were honoured in the names of fraternisation and peace.

These games, lasting several days, had real importance, for the majority of Greeks participated in them.

For their duration, a truce was proclaimed between various Greek states which may have been in conflict.

The games constituted a real festival of the entire Greek world. All the small Greek states—usually so at variance—suspended their contention during the games, which assumed an almost sacred aspect. Each Greek nation was also represented on this occasion by specially appointed envoys.

Any Greek in possession of his civil rights was permitted to compete. A preliminary oath was enjoined in which the competitor declared that he had been training for the particular games in which he wished to compete, and pledged himself to abide by the rules.

Those proclaimed the victors were genuinely the best. The victors were highly honoured, and returned to their own countries crowned with glory. Statues were raised to them. There was no finer title to glory for a Greek than the Olympic crown.

It was at an international congress in Paris, in 1894, that, on the proposal of Baron Pierre de Coubertin, it was decided to re-establish the Olympiads. Olympic Games therefore took place after this in 1896 in Athens, in 1900 in Paris, on the occasion of the World Exhibition, in 1904 in St. Louis, U.S.A., in 1908 in London, in 1912 in Stockholm. The sixth Olympiad had been planned for Berlin in 1916, but did not take place because of the world war. There then followed the Games in 1920 in Antwerp, in 1924 in Paris, in 1928 in Amsterdam, and in 1932 in Los Angeles, U.S.A.

Baron Pierre de Coubertin, when pleading for the revival of the Olympic Games, certainly never imagined that they might be used for ends very different from those of the fraternisation of the youth of all countries—which was also the original object of the Games in ancient Greece.

Certain well-known people, such as, for instance, M. Henri Desgranges, director of the French paper *l'Auto*, claimed that "nothing has resulted more in setting the peoples one against the other"; and in 1932, when the International Committee of the Olympic Games decided to hold the next Games, in 1936, in Berlin, not a voice was raised in dissent, for, in those days, Germany was a country like any other, where sport had been widely developed and could be enjoyed by all who so desired, according to their ability.

Since that time, however, Germany has sunk into a condition which recalls the darkest periods of the Middle Ages. Thousands of sportsmen—Catholics, Socialists, Liberals, Communists—have been imprisoned, beaten, even murdered; the Jewish sportsmen, in particular have been ill-treated and forbidden to use the sports-grounds.

All sport in Germany has been centralised in the hands of a sports dictator and is organised in accord with the "spirit of National-Socialism."

One of the principles of the National-Socialist regime is to place a high estimate on the so-called Aryan race and to despise all others. It is quite obvious that this racial discrimination, by forbidding "Non-Aryans" access to sports-grounds, swimming-pools and other facilities, is contrary to the principles of the Olympic Charter.

The sports dictator, von Tschammer und Osten, has announced that Germany will show her strength in sports over the head of the Olympic Games, which amounts to a definite admission that sport is here connected with the policy of one particular party.

The Nazis had the insolence to engrave the swastika—the symbol of "racialism" and anti-Semitism—on the Olympic bell which bears the inscription: "I call to the youth of the world."

It was for this reason that, at that period, numerous protests

\*History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, page 355.

† Ibid., page 1. ‡ Ibid., page 111. § Ibid., page 111.

were made, and many persons well known in the world of sport led a campaign to request the international Games committee to transfer the Olympiad elsewhere from Germany, whose rulers scorned the very spirit of the Olympic Games.

In spite of this campaign, however, the Games did take place in Berlin. But it became very apparent, in the course of the Games, that those who had maintained that Germany would not respect the spirit of the Olympiad were absolutely right.

It was made known, also, at that time that the next Olympiad in 1940 would take place in yet another country which had no respect for the Olympic Charter, namely, Japan, the country whose Government is at present making war upon the brave people of China. A very strong current of opinion against having the Games in Japan, immediately became manifest within a number of sports federations in various countries. In June, 1936, a number of prominent people met in Paris and launched a campaign for a boycott of the Olympic Games, if they were to take place in Tokyo. They demanded that the next Olympiad be held in a democratic country.

Evidently this movement met with some success throughout the world, for, in 1937, it became known that Japan did not intend to organise the Games.

It is with great satisfaction that we welcome the intention to hold the 1940 Games in Finland. We feel sure that the Finnish Government and the Finnish sports organisations will organise preparations for the Games in the spirit of harmony and peace, and that the Games will evoke a wide interest in the democratic countries.

It is for this reason that, in each country, we should organise a substantial representation of athletes and sportsmen for the 1940 Games, while asking the organisers vigorously to revive the spirit which guided the Games of ancient Greece. The Olympic Games should take place in an atmosphere of the profoundest fraternity.

## Hitler's Latest Sports Decree

By C. Kramer

JUST before the close of 1938, German sport-lovers received a special Christmas present. An edict from Hitler rechristened the "German Reich League for Physical Culture" into the "National Socialist Reich League for Culture," and the league was declared to be one of the organisations under the control of the National Socialist Party. This has put the official stamp to developments which have converted what was once a free sports movement, comprising millions of members, into a miserable appendage of the fascist party. The last appearance of independence in the German sport movement has been drastically abolished by this decree.

The decree states that the Reich League, which has to represent the German sport movement abroad as well as at home, is responsible for the whole of the physical training of the German people, where this is not undertaken by the State or the Party, their organisations or affiliated associations. Only the compulsory military sport carried on in the Black Guards, Storm Troops, Hitler Youth, Labour Service, etc., which has nothing whatever to do with real sport and physical culture, remains outside the competency of the Reich League.

When fascism came into power, the German sport associations had a membership of 8.5 millions out of a population of approximately 65 millions (figures from *Manual of Physical Training* 1932, issued by the then Reich Committee for Physical Exercises). Official statistics contained in the *Statistical Year Book of the German Reich* 1936, give the membership on July 1, 1936, at about 4,490,000. In a little over three years it had fallen off by half. Two more years have passed since then, and the decline has increased. At the beginning of November, 1938, the membership was only 2,489,000. And this figure comes from the authorities. It was published on November 3, 1938, in the largest bourgeois sport newspaper of Europe, the French *L'Auto*, whose editor Robert Perrier made a study tour of Germany, and received information on the German sport movement direct from the heads of the various departments of the Reich League. Within scarcely 6 years, a sport movement with 8½ million members has been reduced to less than 2½ millions, although seizure of neighbouring territory have mean-

while increased the population by at least 10 millions. Even for fascists this is surely a unique record.

In contrast to this, in the Soviet Union the number of members in the sport associations has increased, under the conditions of socialist construction, from three quarters of a million in 1929 to the present proud figure of over 10 millions. And the rate of growth is increased by the steady improvement of the general conditions of living, the short working hours, the higher wages and increased dwelling space.

In the explanatory memorandum to the decree it is further stated that the State will continue to "assure the material basis" for the Reich League. The impression is given that the state has been giving the sport movement financial aid, as was the case before the setting up of the Brown dictatorship. This is a downright fraud. We refer once more to the above mentioned sports journalist Robert Perrier, who received authentic information on this point from the Reich League treasurer Stenzel, and published this in *L'Auto* on November 5, 1938. It is stated in so many words: The State does not contribute a halfpenny towards the work of the Reich League. The members must not only meet all expenses out of their own slender purses, but their membership dues, painfully scraped together, go for the most part towards paying the salaries of the fascist bosses holding the leading positions in the Reich League. Perrier gives in *L'Auto* a statement of account of the Reich League, obtained from Stenzel. He recalculates the sums into francs, as follows: Out of an annual income of 52 million francs, 14½ millions are swallowed up in administration expenses of the League and 14.9 millions in salaries of the fascist sport leaders. This accounts for over 29 millions, about 60 per cent. of the income. Another considerable part of the membership dues, 18 millions, figuring in the balance sheet under the item, expenditure for sports education, is spent on training camps and instruction, that is, for the training of a small number of record-breakers, whose task it is to represent German sport in contests with foreign opponents. It is not difficult to calculate how much money is left for other purposes. And all this is called fascist promotion of sport and "securing its material basis."

In the Soviet Union we see again the contrast. In 1938 alone the State allotted no less than 148 million roubles for the promotion of sport. The amounts figuring in the budgets of the Soviet trade unions, and the State social insurance budget (also administered by the trade unions) for sport purposes in 1938, totalled 286 million roubles.

What the fascists want is sport of a special kind, forming a part of their war preparations, and ensuring the most rapid and comprehensive possible training of soldiers. The old sport associations, with their free sport traditions and resultant oppositional trends against fascism, appear to the fascists to be too unreliable, even after the many restrictions imposed on them. And then the fascists want the sport organisations as a means of making an impression on public opinion abroad. Hence they are concentrating their military defence sport in the fascist associations, the Storm Troops, Hitler Youth, etc. The official sport associations have been deliberately deprived of their mass foundation. They now serve solely for training stars, as modern gladiator schools, for the production of record-breakers for the purpose of appearing abroad as representatives of the German sport movement. The members of the Reich League serve Goebbels as sport advertisement, whilst all the others are forced into purely military sport in the fascist organisations.

All the measures hitherto taken to subjugate and intimidate the members of the sport associations, the deprivation of the most elementary membership rights, of the possibility of organising sport itself or administering the members' subscriptions; the appointment of commissars, etc., etc.—all this has not sufficed. Apparently it has all failed to suppress every sign of opposition to fascism and to make a docile tool of the Reich League. Otherwise it is difficult to explain the present direct subordination of the Reich League for Physical Culture to the Party organisations. For this step involves the danger that the scales will even fall from the eyes of the most credulous foreigner, enabling him to see what has happened to the German sport movement, to see that it has actually ceased to exist.